France, Italy and The London Conference
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Workers of the World, Unite!

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WASHINGTON OFFERS NO PRICE RELIEF

Reuther Out To Crush All Opposition

By Art Preis

ATLANTIC CITY, Nov. 15—Crushed under Walter Reuther's red-baiting steamroller, the dull and lifeless 11th Convention of the CIO United Automobile Workers last night ended its sessions at the Convention Hall here a day ahead of schedule.

As Reuther banged his gavel for adjournment in the half-empty auditorium, he sounded the close of an epic period in the life of the UAW and the American labor movement.

For the first time in its 12-year history, the traditionally democratic UAW has come under the control of a reactionary, bureaucratic power machine which is out to smash all opposition. Reuther has succeeded where Homer Martin tried but failed.

This Reutherite power machine is a catch-all of the most backward and reactionary elements in the union. They range from Social-Democratic types like Reuther himself to the sinister Association of Catholic Trade Unionists (ACTU) under direction of the Catholic hierarchy.

Reuther's coalition of reaction has swept to power on the wave of anti-"red" hysteria and witch-hunting set in motion by the U. S. State Department and the Thomas-Rankin Un-American Activities Committee.

Had One Aim

Reuther, the professional "democrat" had but one immediate aim at this convention — to get his slate elected as quickly as possible without discussion of any basic issues. He accomplished this by jamming through a motion in the opening session last Sunday to hold elections starting with the third day instead of the customary fifth day of the convention.

Whatever time was left, the Reutherite machine wasted with delaying tactics and by discussion of inconsequential constitutional amendments or amendments especially designed to strengthen the hand of the new top leadership against the ranks. To further ensure against debate of the real issues — wages and prices, speed-up, political action, etc. — the Reuther machine rushed through an adjournment a day before schedule.

Only on three isolated occasions and for brief moments did the opposition succeed in lifting the Reutherite-ACTU iron curtain. The first was when they forced a debate the second afternoon, last Monday, on the Taft-Hartley "yellow dog" affidavits. Then on Thursday morning they blocked Reuther's attempt to stall for several hours the scheduled election of Executive Board members because Reuther needed a bit more time to complete some deals.

The liveliest and most unexpected break-through of genuine rank-and-file sentiment came last night just two hours before adjournment. A revolt of the delegates, swept by a growing revulsion at Reuther's anti-democratic tactics, almost led to the defeat of one of Reuther's hand-picked candidates for the Board of Trustees. Reuther took three show-of-hand votes and finally handed the decision to his own man amid violent booing.

The Reutherite-ACTU faction and the Thomas-Leonard-Addes opposition were divided at this convention by many important differences of program. These covered a whole scale of basic issues vital to the interests of the auto workers. Reuther successfully prevented all but one of these issues from hitting the floor.

Basic Difference

Only the opposing resolutions on the Taft-Hartley Act were debated. But this one issue sufficed to point up the basic differences.

The test of whether the labor leaders intend to fight the Taft Act or to retreat and capitulate is their attitude on compliance with the "yellow dog" anti-communist oaths under the Taft Act. The Reutherite minority on the Resolutions Committee introduced a resolution of compliance, of course "under protest."

The majority resolution, representing the viewpoint of the Thomas-Leonard-Addes caucus, uncompromisingly rejected compliance with the "yellow dog" oath. R. J. Thomas, who was defeated for re-election to the vice presidency led a courageous fight of a strong minority against the Reutherite surrender resolution.

The Reutherites, led by Emil Mazey, appealed exclusively to con-

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Mass Upsurge Rocks France, Italy On Eve of "Big Four" Conference

A wave of militant demonstrations has broken out in both Italy and France. They occur on the eve of the Foreign Ministers Conference in London as the immediate result of a shift in line by the Communist (Stalinist) Parties.

The Stalinists want to strengthen their badly deteriorated political position in both countries as revealed in the recent elections. They want to frighten Wall Street with the specter of revolution in France and Italy, thereby facilitating the Kremlin's efforts to reach a deal with Washington.

The Stalinists hope to restore the shaken confidence of wide sections of the working class in their leadership. They hope to demonstrate to Wall Street that no government can rule in France or Italy without utilizing their services to ward off socialist revolution.

The response of the masses, however, arises from the acuteness of the economic situation in both countries. The cost of living continues to skyrocket. Hunger and misery are rampant. In addition the mounting strength of reaction and the danger of a fascist seizure of power, particularly in France, deeply disturbs the masses. This is the explanation for the scope of the demonstrations that broke out as soon as the Stalinists released the brakes they have kept clamped on the class struggle since the end of the war.

The Stalinists fear that a socialist revolution in either country would sweep them aside and inspire the Russian workers to do away with the Kremlin bureaucracy. That is why they will do their utmost to keep the demonstrations within "safe" bounds.

NOT SO EASY

But that is not so easy. In order to really frighten Wall Street, the demonstrations must reach such size that they are clearly beyond the capacity of Wall Street's own reactionary forces in France and Italy to roll back.

Demonstrations of that power can set in motion new forces. The masses themselves can well begin organizing committees of far greater revolutionary potential than even that represented by the trade unions. New militant rank and file leaders come into prominence. The will of the masses to take the road to socialism is injected into the arena as a more and more decisive element in the struggle.

Moreover, the threat of de Gaulle in France and of neo-fascism in Italy act as goads. The masses, alarmed over the possibility of a fascist catastrophe such as befell the masses when Mussolini, Hitler and Franco took power, will continually seek decisive preventive action while there is still time. Thus days of fateful decision are rapidly nearing on the political calendars of France and Italy.

(See Page 3 for articles on France and Italy.)

Thanksgiving Dinner--1947 Style

Hickman Jury Disagrees New Trial Set for Jan. 5

CHICAGO, Nov. 18—The dramatic trial of James Hickman, charged with the murder of his landlord, David Coleman, ended in a mistrial last Saturday when the jury reported that it was unable to agree on a verdict. The jury had been deliberating since 5:15 p.m. of the previous day, but was unable to arrive at agreement on the guilt or innocence of the defendant, who had lost his four youngest children in a disastrous attic fire last January, and who held Coleman responsible for their death. A new trial was ordered for Jan. 5.

JAMES HICKMAN

Hickman was provided with defense counsel, financial and moral assistance by the Hickman Defense Committee, formed by the joint efforts of CIO, AFL and independent unions, American Veterans Committee, Workers Defense League, NAACP, Socialist Workers Party, Baptist Ministers Conference, CORE and many other organizations and individuals.

The steering committee of the Hickman Defense Committee, meeting with the defense counsel and Mrs. Hickman immediately after the date for a new trial had been set, decided unanimously to continue the fight for Hickman's acquittal. The committee decided to launch a new campaign to raise funds and arouse public sentiment in preparation for the second trial. Branches of the Hickman Defense Committee established throughout the country were given the signal to proceed vigorously in rallying material and moral assistance for Hickman.

The trial opened on Nov. 5 in a crowded courtroom before Judge Rudolf Desort. After three days of questioning, a jury of six men and six women were chosen. Defense attorneys were M. J. Myer, Leon Despres and William Temple, widely known and experienced figures in civil rights and labor cases.

The opening argument by the assistant state's attorney, Samuel Friedman, consisted of a brief statement that the state would prove that James Hickman was guilty of murder, on the grounds that the shooting was "premeditated" and done with "malice aforethought."

M. J. Myer, counsel for the defense, in his opening statement did not deny that Hickman had shot Coleman but promised the defense would prove conclusively that he was suffering temporarily from mental illness at the time, which came within the legal definition of "insanity," and therefore was, in accordance with the laws of the State of Illinois, not guilty of any crime. The facts, he indicated, would show that the real victims

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Truman's Proposals Fail to Strike at Sources of Inflation

Almost everyone in the country, outside of Truman's closest supporters and hangers-on, agrees that he laid an egg in his proposed 10-point program to halt price inflation.

Two facts are pretty obvious: 1. that Congress will not adopt much of what he asks; 2. that even if his program were adopted in full it is practically useless as a barrier to further price rises.

Senator Taft, who calls the turn for the Republican majority in Congress, has flatly declared that the special session will seriously consider not more than "three or four of the less controversial measures" asked by Truman.

For political reasons, Taft sees fit to brand Truman's vague and meaningless proposals as "police-state methods" — borrowing Truman's own phrase of a few weeks back. **But there is little basic difference between Truman's latest attempt to fool the people and Taft's own six-point program voiced last September.**

On at least one vital point, Truman merely echoed Taft's own proposition—that wages should be frozen where "essential to maintain the necessary price ceilings." They agree on still another aspect of the problem: Neither advances any measures against the Big Business profiteers.

PLAIN DEMAGOGY

The one point of Truman's program in which he pretended to deal with the most glaring aspect of profiteering — speculation — is plain demagogy. Even the **N. Y. Times**, which editorially took Taft to task for his opposition to Truman's gestures, admits that the President's request "for authority to regulate speculative trading conditions can best be described as a piece of harmless window-dressing."

When we examine Truman's program closely, we find that the measures he now advocates have been tried individually and collectively over years and have proved useless as anti-inflationary devices. At least three of these measures (allocation of transportation facilities, rent control and control of exports) are at least formally in effect today. A fourth, control of consumer credit, was ended just a month ago.

The heart of his program is his demand for authority, at his own discretion, to impose "some" rationing, price ceilings and wage ceilings.

We saw all these devices in action during the war, when government machinery for control was at its peak strength and when the inflationary pressure was far weaker than today.

NET EFFECT

We know what the net effect of these measures was: Prices rose faster than wages; wages were frozen; profits soared; the essentials of life were siphoned off into the black market; price ceilings became a joke; consumer credit, including installment buying, soared to record levels.

It is difficult to believe that Truman seriously considers his program as anything more than a political gesture. Certainly it has all the earmarks of a typical capitalist politician's bid for votes.

It will put the Republicans on the spot and open them to the charge of blocking measures to stop inflation. It is a gesture to the union leaders and liberals, with its nod in the direction of price controls and rationing of scarce commodities. It is reassurance to the employers, with its insistence that wages be frozen along with the fixing of any price ceilings.

Here, in short, is an aspirant for re-election promising all things to all men. That is the intent and meaning of Truman's "anti-inflation" program.

But if we take Truman's program in its totality, including his primary aim in calling the special session, then it becomes clear that he is doing everything to aggravate the inflation.

REACTIONARY AIM

The real aim of both Truman and Congress is to pour out billions of dollars, extracted from the workers, to prop up the bankrupt capitalist regimes in Europe—that is, those regimes that are willing to play ball with Wall Street and provide the European springboard for American imperialism's planned

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Steel Union, Trainmen Reject Taft Act Oath

Officers of two of the country's leading unions, the CIO United Steelworkers and the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, announced last week that they will not sign the "yellow dog" oaths required by the Taft-Hartley Act.

A decision against complying with the Slave Labor Act was adopted unanimously on Nov. 19 by the Executive Board of the 875,000-member Steelworkers union.

This followed the strong statement the day before by A. F. Whitney, BRT president. Whitney said his organization of 218,000 members would not cooperate in any way with the Taft Act or its agencies. He bitterly assailed the Act as "a monstrosity designed to wreck American unions."

"I am not a Communist," Whitney said. "But I am not falling for the efforts of fascist-minded people who want to split the labor movement on Communist charges. . . . If we are going to get a foreign ideology in this country, the real danger lies not in communism but in fascism."

The steel union's action means that two of the three largest affiliates of the CIO are defying the Taft Act on the matter of signing anti-communist oaths in order to receive the "benefits" of the new NLRB.

Previously, the CIO United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, with 600,000 members, had voted in convention against compliance. Walter Reuther's red-baiting machine broke the front of the CIO's "Big Three" when he steamrollered the UAW convention into adopting a resolution for compliance.

Together with the AFL United Mine Workers, led by John L. Lewis, and several smaller CIO internationals, the hold-out unions represent more than 2,500,000 workers.

The 41-man Executive Board of the Steelworkers devoted virtually their entire session in Pittsburgh last week to consideration of the fight against the Taft-Hartley Act.

They agreed to reaffirm their previous resolution, adopted last July, which said in part:

"We denounce the new Taft-Hartley Act and the new labor board as instruments clearly designed to oppress unions and to destroy the living standards of American workers."

Although Philip Murray, as CIO Steelworkers President, refuses to sign the Taft Act affidavits as a "matter of principle," he bears responsibility for the capitulation of other CIO unions, including the UAW. He helped put over the policy at the CIO convention to permit any affiliate that wanted to sign the "yellow dog" oaths to do so.

U. S. OFFICERS TO DIRECT GREEK TROOPS

The Truman Administration is inching the United States into direct participation in the war in Greece. The latest move is an order increasing the size of the American Military Mission there and assigning them to headquarters of Greek Army units "down to the division level" to work out tactics and strategy in combatting the partisans.

The announcement was made in Washington Nov. 14, by Kenneth C. Royall, Secretary of the Army. The present force of 40 will be increased to 210, he said. These men are principally specialists in mountain fighting. They will act as a general staff, supervising and "advising" the Greek quisling generals in their military campaigns.

Four days after this announcement, Dwight P. Griswold, head of the United States "aid" mission to Greece, at a press interview in Athens, revealed more details of the plan to involve the United States deeper in the actual fighting.

He said that the authority of the military mission has been "broadened" so that instead of confining its activities to supervising supply functions it can give military "advice."

Lieut. Gen. William G. Livesay, said Griswold, will become chairman of the joint planning staff of the U. S. Army, Navy and Air Force officers assigned to aid the Greek general staff. This planning staff will hear reports from its men attached to Greek Army corps and divisions. These men in turn will "advise" the Greek commanders under their jurisdiction on tactics and strategy.

"But the Americans will not take command," Griswold insisted. "They will have no command function whatsoever." He also asserted that there was no plan to send an American expeditionary force to Greece.

General Livesay backed Griswold's assertions, declaring that "if we advise an attack and the Greeks attack and it is a failure, it is a Greek responsibility, not ours." Dispatches reporting the interview did not say who would get the "credit" for slaughtering Greek partisans if an attack advised by the American staff was successful.

General Livesay admitted that the Americans assigned to the field would operate in the combat zones. "After all, in a sense, all of Greece is a combat area," he said. In his opinion the participation of American generals and officers in the fighting does not make the United States a belligerent. He used the legalistic argument that Washington is "merely helping the Greeks to quell a rebellion within their own borders."

But last August, Markos Vafiades, a partisan leader, warned that American or British military persons taken by the partisans would be treated as enemies.

The Wall Street quislings who head the present Greek regime interpret this decision by the Truman Administration as the most significant and far-reaching commitment yet made by the United States in Greece. They expect that the Truman Administration will take charge of war operations just as decisively as it has now taken charge of Greek economy and the Greek government.

Last week **The Militant** reported that the Sophoulis-Tsaldaris regime had outlawed the labor press. Penalties for printing any newspaper critical of their regime are so savage that **Workers' Struggle**, newspaper of the Greek Trotskyists, for instance, can find no printer who dares publish it in his shop.

The decree ending freedom of the press was taken in consultation with the American and British Ambassadors, according to report. Their aim, it is clear, was in part to prevent the labor movement from publishing any criticism of Washington's direct entry into the armed conflict in Greece.

Vigilantes Break Up C.P. Gathering in Bridgeport

Bridgeport, Conn., was the scene last week of the latest attack on civil liberties in the fast-spreading "red-scare" campaign launched by government-inspired vigilante mobs. Previous assaults on freedom of assembly have taken place in the New Jersey-Philadelphia area during the last month.

In Bridgeport, as in the previous cases, the forces of "law and order," including "Socialist" Mayor Jasper McLevy, stood by and watched while hoodlums incited by reactionary "veterans" leaders did their dirty work on the night of Nov. 16.

About 150 members of the mob pushed, kicked and otherwise tried to prevent people from entering Kaczoci Hall where a Communist Party meeting was scheduled. They shouted and yelled: "Beat them up" and "We'll get you when you come out."

Then members of the mob went into the hall, escorted by cops, and raised such an uproar that the meeting had to be adjourned.

Outside, after the meeting, the hoodlums made good on their threats, surrounding a number of Communist Party members and brutally beating them up while the cops stood by.

A DIFFERENT STORY

The answer to such fascist-like attacks was indicated the following night in Newark, N. J., where a chapter of the American Veterans Committee organized a squad to defend a meeting at the YMCA.

The meeting was originally scheduled to take place two weeks earlier. But the rental of two halls had been cancelled by vigilante threats of violence and police warnings that their beer licenses would not be renewed if the AVC was permitted to use the halls.

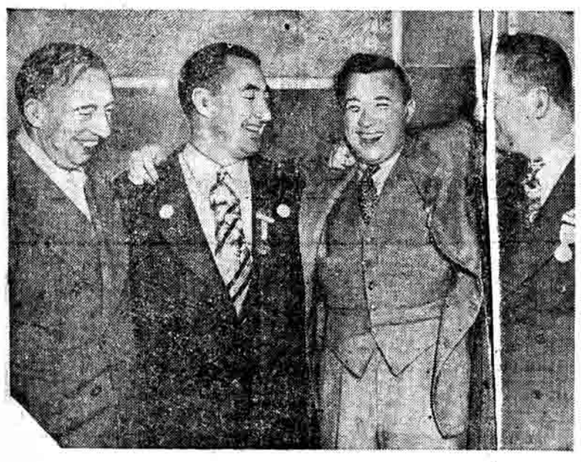
Determined to protect their own democratic rights, even if the city authorities refused to do so, the AVC called a new meeting at the YMCA for Nov. 17. To guard against interference with the meeting, a squad was selected to keep order. There were no incidents on this occasion.

There is an important lesson to be learned from these incidents, and it must be learned well if the growth of fascism is to be prevented in this country. To defend civil rights, labor and other progressive forces must rely only on their own organized strength. When government and police authorities wink their eyes at the vigilantes and openly connive in assaults on democratic rights, labor must prepare its own defense.

Vigilantes Threaten Los Angeles Meeting

Twenty hoodlums wearing American Legion caps broke into a meeting in Los Angeles last week, ordering that it be dispersed within 10 minutes. The hoodlums thought it was a meeting of the Progressive Citizens of America. It turned out to be a meeting of the La Crescenta-La Canada Democratic Club.

New UAW Officers



The four top officers of the CIO United Automobile Workers pose jovially following their sweep of the UAW leadership at the union's convention in Atlantic City, Nov. 9-14. They head the Reutherite-ACTU machine that took over complete control in an atmosphere of red-baiting, conservatism and intimidation.

Left to right, they are Vice President Richard Gosser, Secretary-Treasurer Emil Mazey, President Walter Reuther and Vice President John W. Livingston.

Gosser has been under fire for his anti-Negro policies and gangster methods as Regional Director in the Toledo area. Mazey, a former militant, led the machine's drive at the convention to force the UAW to comply with the "yellow dog" affidavits under the Taft-Hartley Act. Livingston is a conservative machine-man.

Today's Social Crisis Will Bring Political Explosion

By Farrell Dobbs

Wall Street's two-pronged offensive against the Soviet Union and the American labor movement is gaining momentum, thanks primarily to the policy of the belly-crawling top union officials. Yet, in spite of betrayal by the union leadership, rising political consciousness among the workers can and will break through and launch an offensive in the other direction.

The harsh measures imposed upon the workers are in fact creating the conditions for a deeper and broader movement of the workers which will go far beyond the magnificent upsurge of the past decade and sweep all resistance before it, including the resistance of the conservative labor officialdom. A brief analysis of developments in recent years provides ample ground for this estimate.

Political thought along class lines did not penetrate the trade union membership during the first stages of the struggle to build today's mass unions. The workers voted for Roosevelt and busied themselves organizing the unorganized: smashing the open-shop fortresses of the monopoly corporations; improving wages and conditions; and establishing union control on the job.

As the unions slowly gained the upper hand, the conflict penetrated deeply into the basic segments of our national economic structure. Here were found giant monopoly corporations with a strangehold on the national economy and a lead-string on the government in Washington.

Pretext to Blame Unions

Wage gains won by the workers were used by the trusts as a pretext for outrageous price increases affecting the entire nation. Corporation agents in Washington and in the newspaper editorial rooms saw to it that the unions were fully blamed. Congressmen — at first mainly poll-tax Democrats and the most rock-ribbed Republicans — began to introduce anti-union legislation.

Every big strike in the basic industries tended to become a national political issue. Pure and simple trade unionism had completely played itself out. Independent labor political action was on the order of the day.

However, the political crisis confronting the unions was obscured temporarily by American entry into World War II. Sacrificing the workers' interests in support of Wall Street's imperialist interests, the union officials, with the Stalinist betrayers at the head of the pack gave Big Business a no-strike pledge without bothering to consult the workers. They supported the wage-freeze and the speedup. Meanwhile, prices shot upward and the workers' standard of living was ground down.

Overwhelmed by the war machine, disoriented by their leaders, the workers were unable to defend their interests against their mortal enemy, American Big Business. Obscured though it momentarily was under these conditions, the political crisis was immeasurably deepened by the war.

Big Business Technique

With the arrival of V-J Day the storm broke. Strikes spread until at the crest of the wave two million workers were manning picket lines. Troop demonstrations broke out from Berlin to Tokio with a universal demand to be sent home. And as soon as they got home the veterans went on the picket lines. Huge sections of the middle classes supported the strikers.

So solid was the mass battlefront against Big Business, that even the ultra-conservative **New York Times** referred to the "modern crime of crossing a picket line."

Big Business was stymied. Finks, thugs, injunctions, cops, militia, red-baiting all put together couldn't smash these strikes. Recognizing they had lost that round, the corporations decided to make the unions' victory as costly as possible.

First they let the workers strike a good long time, to deplete any savings they might have and plunge them into debt. Then they settled with the unions, haggling down to the fraction of a cent in their efforts to keep wage gains at a minimum.

Next they put the heat on Truman to relax price controls so they could raise prices to cover the wage increase and add a tidy sum for themselves into the bargain. Then they had Truman close the government-subsidized day nurseries to help them drive the women out of the factories and back into the kitchen. The workers' wage gains were soon cancelled out by rising prices.

Big Business then prepared its counter-attack. The bankers and corporation heads built a fire under their stooges in Washington and in the state capitals.

Truman had already set the stage for Wall Street's assault on labor by his strikebreaking attack on the railroad workers and his prosecution of the coal miners, which led to the outrageous $3,500,000 fine against their union.

In New Jersey an anti-strike law was rushed through in an effort to smash the telephone operators' strike. State after state began grinding out anti-union legislation. Then Truman and Congress really went to bat against the workers.

Mounting Offensive

Price controls were demolished. A 15% "voluntary" rent grab was doled out to the greedy real estate trusts. The Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Act was hurled at the unions. And now every department of government is joining in a witch-hunt under cover of hysterical propaganda for war against the Soviet Union.

Aliens in the unions are being hauled up on deportation charges. People are dragged before Congressional committees and charged with being "reds." They are then prosecuted for "contempt" or as "perjurers" if they refuse to answer or if they deny the sweeping charges against them.

Catholic priests and government officials are barging into the unions to whip up a "red" hunt. Anti-labor hoodlumism is spreading ominously. Negroes are segregated, impoverished and murdered. Anti-Semitism grows more virulent. Civil liberties of the people are everywhere endangered.

Food and clothing prices continue to climb. Housing conditions remain a scandal to the human race. Fear of economic depression lurks in every workers' household. And over all humanity hangs the nightmare threat of horrible death in atomic warfare.

Confronted with these grave dangers to labor's well-being, the union officials are duty-bound to mobilize the workers for battle against Big Business on the political arena through their own independent party. Instead, they are treacherously endorsing Wall Street's war aims, capitulating to the Slave Labor Act, joining in the "red" hunt and preparing to support Truman, the warmonger and strikebreaker, in 1948.

Mighty Wrath Brewing

These hateful deeds win praise from Big Business but they cannot in any way lighten the grim burden the workers are forced to bear. This policy of the leadership retards and sabotages the counter-struggle of the workers but cannot prevent it from breaking out with all the more explosive force a little later.

A mighty wrath is brewing in that seething cauldron of human suffering, frustrated hopes and fear for loved ones. It is a wrath that sees the enemy stand ever more clearly revealed — the profiteering corporations, the greedy bankers, the grasping real estate trusts and their Democratic and Republican political tools.

That wrath remains dammed up at present only because the misleaders at the head of the workers' mass organizations have betrayed their trust and are buckling under the pressure of the workers' enemies. When the dam breaks the American workers will enter the political arena as an independent force with the same irresistible power that built the mighty CIO.

Reuther Drives to Crush All Opposition in UAW

(Continued from Page 1)

servatism and fear. They tried to deny that compliance with the Taft Act strengthens the act and weakens resistance to it. They claimed that the UAW, which was built on the picket lines, would now be helpless if it didn't sign the Taft Act affidavits and thereby get the "benefits" of the new boss-dominated NLRB.

All debate on other major resolutions was choked off. But the undebated resolutions are extremely revealing.

On the burning question of the fight against high prices, the Reutherites placed their chief stress on the discredited program, pushed unsuccessfully since 1942, for the Big Business government to "roll back prices." Reuther himself, in his opening and closing speeches, emphasized this futile program, even fixing the amount of the "roll back" at 12%.

Majority Report

The majority report of the Resolutions Committee, in contradiction to the Reutherite program, demanded that the UAW "immediately embark on a new drive for wage increases" including "cost of living bonuses during the life of the wage clauses with the negotiated rates as the base minimum." **(See text on Page 6)**

It called for a joint strategy of the General Motors, Ford and Chrysler Divisions of the union and for the negotiation of a joint wage program. Reuther and his resolution were silent on these vital questions of wage policy.

One of the sharpest criticisms against Reuther is his connection with the National Planning Association, which is pushing speed-up propaganda. Reuther himself has called for "more production" through labor-management committees of the ill-fated type that operated against the workers during the war. He repeated his proposal for a labor-management set-up in his final speech.

The majority resolution specifically demanded that the union at every level wage war on speed-up. It called for the resignation of UAW leaders from the NPA and all other labor-management collaboration set-ups; for the elimination of all "one sided penalty clauses" in GM and other contracts that aid the speed-up drive, for the prohibition of any piecework agreements and the elimination of those now existing.

The resolutions on political action were not even published. Reuther himself spoke in only the most ambiguous terms about political action. In the resolutions committee, his supporters fought for a continuation of the bankrupt policy of supporting "liberal" Democrats and Republicans.

A minority of the committee, T. Ray Tucker of Flint Local 581, and Paul Silver, of Detroit Local 351, submitted a resolution calling for the UAW to initiate a program aimed at building a new national party of labor. The Reutherites were particularly anxious to keep this resolution from the delegates, because it ould have exposed his pretense of political progressivism. He plans to go down the line next fall with strikbreaker Truman and the Truman Doctrine.

Revealing Incident

An extremely revealing incident occurred in the Resolutions Committee in connection with a mild resolution condemning grievance procedure in the GM Division headed by Reuther. No shop grievance can go before the umpire until it has been approved by Reuther's Screening Committee. This Screening Committee has blocked so many justified grievances that it has provoked widespread complaint.

The Resolutions Committee unanimously adopted a resolution reducing the authority of the GM Screening Commitee to a purely advisory nature. Even the Reutherites voted for this resolution. Then Reuther tipped them off. They came back the next day and tried to change their vote in the Resolutions Committee. Reuther finally disposed of the embarrassing issue by preventing the resolution from coming before the convention in any form.

All Reuther permitted the delegates to discuss, even briefly, were a few constitutional amendments which he was anxious to push through. Thus he found that the convention had time to vote him and the other top officers salary increases of from $1,000 to $1,500 more per year.

But he prevented the Constitution Committee from putting before the convention an extremely important amendment calling for election of the heads of the various union departments. This proposal, widely demanded by the auto workers, is greatly feared by Reuther, who wants heads of departments appointed from the top. He himself runs the GM Division like a little Caesar.

Other constitutional amendments that Reuther and his machine rammed through the convention were designed to make the UAW constitution conform with various provisions of the Taft-Hartley Law. In this chore, Reuther had the able assistance of Shelton Tappes of Local 600, on the Constitution Committee and the union's Stalinist attorney, Maurice Sugar.

One of these amendments — forbidding so-called unauthorized strikes — used virtually the language of the Taft-Hartley Law. It prohibits any local or officer "to instigate, call, lead or engage in any strike or work stoppage, or to induce or encourage employees of any employer to engage in a strike or concerted refusal in the course of their employment to use, manufacture, process, transport or otherwise handle or work on any goods, articles, materials, or commodities or to perform any services, except as authorized by the international executive board or the international president in conformity with the provisions of this constitution."

This not only makes the local unions helpless to resist company provocations, but in the event the corporations deliberately drive the workers to strike, they and their leaders would be subject to big fines and jail sentences and could be denied the support of the international union whose constitution conforms to the provisions of the Taft Act.

Protest Voiced

A number of delegates, alarmed by these constitutional amendments, momentarily halted the Reuther steamroller in order to protest. Delegate Robert Burkhart, of Toledo Local 12, voiced this protest when he declared: "Mr. Chairman, this is the third mouthful of compliance with the Taft-Hartley Act we have been given in this convention. How are we going to test the constitutionality of this Act if we continue to amend and amend our constitution in compliance with the Act?"

Reuther's legal mouthpiece, Attorney Sugar, went to the chairman's rescue. He sidestepped the question by answering that "what we are doing here is recognizing that a law is passed and taking measures, not to comply with the law, but to prevent the undermining of the union."

Reuther's two most embarrassing moments came on Thursday morning and last night. They were a real tip-off on the resentment among the militant delegates to Reuther's steamroller methods.

It was well-known that certain differences had cropped up in the Reuther camp before the elections for the 22-man Executive Board, scheduled to be held in regional caucuses Thursday afternoon. Incompleted deals and squabbles over posts had delayed a final decision on the Reutherite slate.

Near the adjournment of the Thursday morning session, Reuther suddenly proposed from the chair that the convention continue in session for a period during the afternoon because "we have a lot of work to do, constitutional provisions to consider, and resolutions and other committee reports."

There was a spontaneous reaction against this hypocritical stalling. Delegate Moses of Local 346 declared "there have been enough steamroller tactics taking place around here."

He was followed by Delegate Anthony Pirc, of Cleveland Local 337, who drew a big volley of applause when he pointed out: "We had a hell of a lot of important issues to discuss before we had an election of officers, and we wanted to postpone all elections until Thursday and Friday so that we could dispose of all issues first. . . . Now the convention did not feel so disposed. They made the rules. We should stick to the rules. After all, that was your own idea in the first place, Mr. Chairman."

Voted Down

For the first and only time in the convention, Reuther was overwhelmingly voted down.

Last night there was another brief revolt against the deadly, mechanical rule of the Reuther machine. It occurred during the election of the new Board of Trustees.

The Reutherites came in with a slate of three individuals they had picked the night before. It was obvious to everyone that these hand-picked Reutherites would only serve to OK anything Reuther and his lieutenants did with the UAW treasury.

On the plea of the lateness of the hour and the need to adjourn the convention before so many delegates left there would be no quorum, the Reutherites first put over a motion to elect by show of hands, instead of the customary roll-call.

After the first two Reutherite nominees had been put over overwhelmingly, a delegate made a motion that the whole convention stand nominated and that only those delegates wishing to accept should come forward. This was to save time by eliminating numerous nominations and declinations.

The steamroller was working at such a fast pace, that more and more delegates were obviously becoming uneasy. Several previous nominees — including Reuther supporters — had protested with statements such as: "Since I was told by your Steering Committee last night, Brother Reuther, that you had already picked the three trustees, there is no reason for me to run."

At the opening of the nominations for third trustee, Martha Wood, of Detroit Local 157, declared that since no other means was open to fight the steamroller she intended to run against Reuther's candidate, Craig, and try to get at least one woman elected. At these fighting words, the whole convention roared into life.

On the first standing vote, amid a chorus of "We want Martha!" it was conceded among the reporters at the long press table that Martha had a slight edge. Reuther stated he was in doubt.

Again he called for a rising vote. Roars of protest arose from all over the convention hall. Again Reuther pleaded doubt. He took a third vote. Then he announced that the six tellers on the platform, three for Craig and three for Wood, could not come to a decision and there would be a "division of the house" — an actual count of the vote.

Reuther had already told the delegates to form on opposite sides of the hall, when he stopped the proceedings. This time he lined the tellers up to the mike and they each gave a decision. It was four to two in favor of giving Craig the majority. "What's the matter with Walter?" an anxious capitalist press reporter next to me said. "He's losing his grip. That's bad."

R. J. THOMAS

Big Control

But Walter Reuther won't lose his grip so easily or quickly. He made sure of that when he used his assured majority at the opening of the convention to hold the elections before the issues could be discussed. He comes out of the convention with control of the four top offices and 18 of the 22 Executive Board posts.

The type of leaders with which Reuther has surrounded himself is the best evidence of the reactionary character of his caucus and the kind of bureaucratic regime he promises for the UAW.

Among the worst of these elements is Richard Gosser, who replaces R. J. Thomas as a vice president. Gosser, former Board member and Toledo regional director, is notorious for his anti-Negro policies and gangster methods against internal opposition. Wherever he went in the convention, he was shadowed by four of his goons, like a typical gang leader.

A document circulated at the convention contained photostats of receipts allegedly for kick-backs paid to Gosser from UAW employes under his direction.

He is reportedly joint owner of the Colonial Hardware Store in Toledo, with Melvin Schultz his lieutenant and president of Toledo Local 12. Gosser's machine is strongly Catholic. At the convention he was in constant consultation with the Catholic clergy who were directing the ACTU maneuvers.

Two of the four Board members and regional directors in the key Detroit area are ACTU agents, Mike Lacey, elected in East Side Region 1 with Reuther's backing, and Joe McCusker, put in by Reuther in West Side Region 1-A. Norman Matthews and Ed Cote, the two other regional directors, are hard-bitten machine-men cut from the most conservative stamp.

ACTU Agents

Emil Mazey, a former militant who provides the left-cover for Reuther and was elected to replace George Addes as secretary-treasurer, tried to assert a litle independence and back his own candidate for director in Detroit Region 1. Reuther intervened and personally put over the ACTU candidate Lacey.

Reuther supported the ACTU leader O'Malley in Cleveland Region 2 in an unsuccesful atempt to oust Richard Reisinger, the incumbent Regional Director and one of the four opposition supporters elected to the international board.

Reuther falsely attacked the Thomas-Leonard-Addes caucus as an instrument for the "outside interference" of the communist (Stalinist) Party. Yet Reuther has used his caucus and influence to place in the top leadership of the UAW a crew of ACTU agents, representing the 1000-year-old totalitarianism of the Catholic hierarchy, which is utterly alien to a free labor movement." Reuther himself is a transmission belt for the outside interference of the U. S. State Department and the Truman Doctrine of atomic war for world domination.

Reuther's attack on the opposition caucus as members and "fellow-travellers" of the Communist Party was deliberate slander. Actually — as he and his lieutenants well know — not a single former Executive Board member or top UAW officer in the Thomas-Leonard-Addes caucus is or was a Stalinist. Not a single member of the top steering committee of the caucus is a Stalinist.

Stalinist's Role

The Stalinists, who had merely clung to the Thomas-Leonard-Addes caucus, were very discredited in this caucus because of their past record of treachery. They were distrusted by the overwhelming majority of the caucus and had scarcely any influence.

At the convention, they further alienated themselves from this caucus by their 11th hour attempt to split the vote of the caucus during the election for president. Against the decision of the caucus to support no candidate in the election and record an absentention protest vote, the Stalinists prevailed on a relatively obscure delegate, John DeVito, to run against Reuther. He got only 303 votes (average vote per delegate is five) out of a total of nearly 7500.

The Stalinists have made it plain that they are out to blow up the opposition caucus, although they have small chance of succeeding. Too many auto militants recall their sell-out role during the war, when they were the most vocal proponents of speed-up, strikebreaking, etc.

The best militants at this convention, who rallied a third of the delegates against the Taft Oath, have had a sickening taste of what Reuther's rule of the UAW is going to mean. They have seen by his convention actions that he intends to ruthlessly wipe out any progressive opposition and convert the UAW membership into a stifled, "housebroken" and "disciplined" body, too docile for any independent struggle against the corporations.

Fight To Go On

The leaders of the Thomas-Leonard-Addes caucus have made many mistakes in the past, but it must be said they stood up well at this convention. They did not buckle under the barrage of the red-baiters on the "yellow dog" oath. They all spoke out openly on this key issue.

In their final statements to the convention, after their defeat for re-election as vice presidents, Thomas and Leonard stated clearly their determination to remain in the UAW and to fight for a militant policy. Addes has not yet made his plans known.

Leonard received a standing ovation on Thursday when he declared: "I am going, not downstairs, but upstairs, to work beside my fellow-men in this union. . . . I am going back, back to my own local — and there work alongside the man with the grimy hand but overwhelming heart — the man who has made America and our union great. I'm taking an hourly paid job. . . . Yes, on Dec. 1, at 9 a.m., I will be at the DeSoto plant employment office."

This is the spirit that will lift up the UAW militants. It will strengthen them in their determination to fight for the program around which they rallied at this convention. That program is:

1. **Uncompromising struggle against the Taft-Hartley Act;**
2. **Complete elimination of speed-up;**
3. **Preservation of trade union democracy;**
4. **An effective wage policy;**
5. **A unified contract;**
6. **A new political party for labor;**
7. **AFL-CIO unity on a sound, progressive basis.**

Our Program:

1. **Defend labor's standard of living!**
   - A sliding scale of wages — an escalator wage clause in all union contracts to provide automatic wage increases to meet the rising cost of living!
   - Organize mass consumers committees for independent action against profiteering and price-gouging!
   - Expropriate the food trusts! Operate them under workers control!
2. **Full employment and job security for all workers and veterans!**
   - For the 6-hour day, 30-hour week! A sliding scale of hours—reduce the hours of work with no reduction in pay to prevent layoffs and unemployment!
   - Government operation of all idle plants under workers' control!
   - Unemployment insurance equal to trade union wages for workers and veterans during the entire period of unemployment!
3. **Against all anti-labor laws and government strike-breaking!**
   - No restrictions on the right to strike and picket!
   - No injunctions! No compulsory arbitration!
4. **Build an independent labor party!**
5. **Tax the rich, not the poor!**
   - Repeal the payroll tax! No sales taxes!
   - No taxes on incomes under $5,000 a year!
6. **An 18 billion dollar appropriation for government low-rent housing!**
7. **Full equality for Negroes and national minorities!**
   - End Jim Crow! End anti-Semitism!
8. **For a veterans' organization sponsored by the trade unions!**
9. **A working class answer to capitalist militarism and war.**
   - Take the war-making powers away from Congress! Let the people vote on the question of war or peace!
   - Against capitalist conscription!
   - Abolish the officer caste system!
   - Full democratic rights in the armed forces!
   - Trade Union wages for the armed forces!
   - Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions!
10. **Solidarity with the revolutionary struggles of the workers in all lands!**
    - For the complete independence of the colonial peoples!
    - Withdraw all American troops from foreign soil!
11. **For a Workers' and Farmers' Government!**

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War Hysteria Rises on Eve of London Conference

By Joseph Hansen

On the eve of the Conference of Foreign Ministers, which meets in London Nov. 25, the participants are deploying their forces like generals maneuvering contending armies for a major battle. The Conference was officially called by the victors in World War II to finally draw up peace treaties for Germany and Austria. But no one seriously believes that this parley will settle the fate of Germany and Austria or bring peace to a war-weary world. The war drums are too loud for such illusions to gain currency.

The initiative at this "peace" conference lies with the Anglo-American imperialists. **Their aim is: (1) to push for an over-all "settlement" that wil advance their own economic and political interests at the expense of the Soviet Union; (2) in the event a satisfactory settlement proves impossible at present, to utilize the conference to further their plans for war.**

In public the squabbling will be over Germany and Austria and whatever other issues each side will use to embarrass or damage the other. But that is not the main concern of the rulers of Britain and America. They have already decided in secret conference what shall be done about the areas where their bayonets stand.

What Wall Street wants from the Kremlin right now is a breach in exclusive Moscow domination of Eastern Europe and Northern Korea as a preliminary to Stalinist withdrawal from its present "bulwarks" in Europe and the Far East. Wall Street's long-range aim is to end the Soviet government's monopoly of foreign trade and drive an opening wedge in the Soviet Union itself so that nationalized economy there can be split wide open and capitalism restored. These are the real key issues dividing the London conferees.

TERRIFIC PRESSURE

Wall Street has mounted terrific pressure in an effort to convert the Kremlin into its own direct instrument for the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. The principal pressure is the threat of atomic annihilation if the Kremlin does not concede. Wall Street's threat is not an idle one.

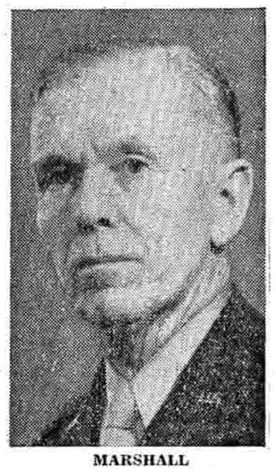
Announcement of the Truman Doctrine to "contain communism" was swiftly followed by the Marshall Plan to use billions of dollars from the U. S. Treasury to build a bloc of western European powers. This is designed as a springboard for the projected assault on the USSR if the Kremlin does not meet Wall Street's terms. Already Greece and Turkey are being converted into munition dumps flanking the strategic Black Sea invasion route.

At home, in preparation for war, Wall Street launched a ferocious anti-labor drive that included the Taft-Hartley Law, "loyalty" purges, witch-hunts and unbridled red-baiting. The entire capitalist propaganda machine stepped up war-mongering to the stage of hysteria. Finally a special session of Congress to consider "aid" to Europe was timed to coincide with the Foreign Ministers Conference.

As part of its political offensive abroad, Washington inspired the ousting of Stalinist ministers from the Italian and French governments and fostered the rise of reactionary movements in those countries designed eventually to smash all working class opposition to its war plans.

All Latin America was asked to sign the dotted line in advance as Wall Street's allies in the projected war. The diplomatic offensive there against the Kremlin was swiftly stepped up to the breaking point.

In the United Nations, the U. S. delegation manipulated its majority on issue after issue to force the Kremlin into the most unfavorable light possible. Now with the formation of the "Little Assembly" it has begun preparations to kick the Soviet Union completely out of the UN.



MARSHALL

At the same time the economic and financial blockade of the USSR was drawn still tighter so that even the thin trickle of goods going there since the war's end is now drying up.

BLOCKADE DRAWN TIGHTER

And with cynical contempt for world opinion, Washington has provocatively stockpiled atomic bombs and periodically announced its latest "successes" in the production of even more horrible and destructive secret weapons.

Now, as a final gesture before the London Conference, Washington's spokesmen have announced that if the Kremlin does not come to terms, then Washington, London and Paris will proceed to write a "separate peace" with Germany and Austria. In diplomatic language this means intensification of war preparations.

The Kremlin has based its foreign policy since the end of the war on the perspective of another deal with Wall Street. It counted on Wall Street's fear of depression paving the way for a trade agreement profitable to both America's 60 ruling families and Moscow's ruling oligarchy. It counted on Wall Street's fear of socialist revolution leading it to seek the Kremlin's counter-revolutionary political services in heading off and putting down such uprisings.

Moscow calculated on trading off the confidence the masses abroad placed in its leadership, thus buying time for the bureaucracy at the expense of the socialist revolution, above all in Europe.

SAVED CAPITALISM

Wall Street accepted these counter-revolutionary services at the close of the war when the working class throughout Europe surged toward power. In Greece, Italy, France, Belgium, etc., the Stalinists took key government posts, thus saving capitalism in Europe at a most critical hour.

Wall Street used this breathing spell to strengthen its own counter-revolutionary forces and to stave off economic collapse by pump-priming abroad and war expenditures at home. When the relation of forces shifted in its favor, it began the offensive, kicking the Stalinists out of office.

Since that time the Kremlin has reeled under the shower of blows from its former "peace-loving" ally, trying to duck, cover up, and gain time.

The Stalinist bureaucracy launched another of its domestic purges, directing the witch-hunt this time against purveyors of "bourgeois" ideology. Just as Wall Street lined up Latin America and pushed for the smashing of all Stalinist opposition there, so the Kremlin tightened its control over Eastern Europe, mopping up all political opposition to its domination.

On the foreign field, Moscow's weaknesses have been even more apparent than at home. The decades of opportunism, betrayals and foul crimes have proved costly. The brain trust of American Big Business understands perfectly well that the Kremlin fears socialist revolution as much as they do. They see no necessity for paying Moscow for its counter-revolutionary services.

Since it had no other resources, the Kremlin resorted to verbal terror against Wall Street. It tried to frighten American Big Business by reviving talk about socialism and the success of the Bolsheviks in the November, 1917, revolution.

To give the "danger" of socialist revolution an aura of reality, the Kremlin set up an "Information Bureau" at Belgrade to "co-ordinate" the activities of the various Stalinist parties. Moscow ordered a "left" shift, instructing its agents abroad to begin applying to American imperialism and Truman the terms once used against German imperialism and Hitler.

MOLOTOV

RATTLED SKELETON

Vyshinsky was sent to the United Nations to counter Wall Street's war-mongering with—phrase mongering. The fate of Napoleon was once more rattled like a skeleton in a closet; and Molotov hinted that Moscow might have the atomic bomb.

All these verbal firecrackers, however, had little effect on the progress of Wall Street's war machine. Finally, on the very eve of the conference, the Stalinist parties in Italy and France have ventured a step beyond windy speeches, empty boasts and vain threats. They staged street demonstrations against the Marshall Plan and Wall Street's war plans and some of the Stalinist leaders were prompted to make vague public hints about possible "civil war" and "revolution."

As this clamor of battle reached a crescendo, both Washington and Moscow wove in a conciliatory theme. Byrnes, for example, followed up his book that called for war with a declaration that "we must always leave open the gates of understanding."

Moscow, however, sounded the conciliatory note much louder than Washington. Stalin told a delegation of British Laborites that his regime can get along amicably with capitalism. Molotov repeated this theme in his Nov. 7 speech. Vyshinsky has emphasized it since in press interviews and speeches.

ANXIOUS FOR DEAL

Wall Street's spokesmen do this to appear "reasonable" as they sit down atomic bomb in hand at the conference table. The Stalinist bureaucracy likewise has public opinion in mind and wishes to appear willing to listen to reason. But it must be added that the Kremlin fears war far more than Wall Street and is more anxious to reach a deal. **Their perspective in international politics boils down to postponing the inevitable conflict through temporary deals and pacts. All the Kremlin asks is not to be forced to fight or to commit suicide by undermining its own economic and political base.**

BEVIN

The reality of the situation on the eve of the London Conference was succinctly expressed by Elliott V. Bell, N. Y. State Superintendent of Banks, at a meeting of 450 bank officers and trustees in New York on Nov. 10. "Whether we like it or not," said Bell to those financiers, "we are in a war . . . It is at present a cold war, a war of nerves, of propaganda and invective, of economic and political pressure. But it is just as real and may prove just as deadily as though it were fought with planes and atom bombs."

Labor Movement in Japan on the Rise

By Ria Stone

There are many examples today of the "one-worldness" of the workers' struggle in every country. Few are more striking than the speed and power with which the workers in Japan have climbed into the political limelight during the last two years. Before the defeat of Japan, the labor movement played a negligible role in the political affairs of the country. The masses were hostile to the government, but the weakness of the labor movement enabled the Japanese capitalist and militarists to pursue unchecked their policy of imperialist expansion. Today, as a result of the war, the old ruling class has been discredited, and the Japanese labor movement has emerged as the only social force able to reconstruct the economy.

A brief statistical examination of the Japanese union movement today will teach us a great deal. Before the war in 1937, there were at most a half million workers in the National Federation of Labor, an organization corresponding to the American AFL. During the war, even this impotent organization was smashed.

Today, however, the National Federation of Labor has over one million members. At the same time and even more important, a new union organization has emerged, the Japanese Congress of Industrial Unions, embracing close to two million workers. The Japanese Federation of Labor is strongest in the textile unions. At the basis of the Japanese CIO, on the other hand, are the key workers in communications and other public services. Over a million more workers are organized in many smaller unions.

The total number of unions is between 17,000 and 20,000. Is it any wonder that the American occupation complains of the absence of "trained and responsible labor leaders?" When so many unions are formed in such a short time, the rank and file must play a decisive role in their actual organization and must supply a considerable segment of the local leadership. Under such circumstances, as the militants who organized the CIO in the United States will remember, the opportunity is limited for the labor lieutenants of capitalism to establish their stranglehold.

CHALLENGE TO CAPITALISM

But it is not only in numbers that the Japanese unions have expanded from practically nothing to a social force embracing over 80% of the working population. From the very beginning, the Japanese workers have shown that they are combining the traditional minimum demands of organized labor with a broad economic and social challenge to the capitalist system.

Last year, to cite one example of many, the workers in the Pilot Fountain Pen Co. successfully waged a "production control strike" over a period of months. They formed their own committees, planned production, purchased materials, sold their products and paid wages. In industry after industry, the unions have defied the capitalist right to dismiss "surplus workers" so long as mass unemployment persists.

So strong has this control been, that today the state must take the initiative in trying to dismiss a half-million government employes in the key departments of railway, post-office, etc. Thereby, it hopes to give a signal to private industry to challenge workers' control over firing. But even the government, with American troops behind it, is moving cautiously on this program becaues it fears the proof in action that the Japanese workers consider the right to hold a job an integral part of the new way of life.

A year ago, American imperialism was boasting about the MacArthur occupation in Japan as a model of democratic re-education of the "backward" Japanese masses. Today, it is openly stated that the tense situation in Japan may explode over the right of the government to fire as well as hire.

In the Japanese mines the occupation authorities complain that there is virtual union control. The workers have won portal-to-portal pay, and it is reported that they utilize this gain to hold union meetings before going to work. Moreover, the imperialists complain that the workers utilize union control to draw a full day's pay for 3 to 4 hours work.

KEY TO THE ECONOMY

The Japanese mines are the key to the economics of Japan and the Far East, as the mines everywhere are the key to national and world economics. It is obvious that the Japanese miners are no different from their British and American brothers in refusing to bear on their backs the burden of capitalist bankruptcy.

The movement of the Japanese workers has been steadily orienting in the direction of actions of a nation-wide character. With instinctive revolutionary resourcefulness, they have effectively combined parliamentary and extra-parliamentary methods.

In February of this year, a general strike involving 2,600,000 government employes in coal, communications, railways, and schools was blocked only by an order from MacArthur. But the threat of the strike was sufficient to unseat the Yoshida government representing the industrialists and landlords. It was replaced by a coalition government led by the Social-Democrats.

The Japanese Social-Democracy, like the Social-Democracy on a world scale, was ready to do its part in paralyzing the revolutionary will of the Japanese proletariat. But the Social-Democratic party alone is not an adequate tool for American imperialism. At this time, it is industriously seeking to train a bureaucracy of Japanese labor leaders to act as its "responsible" agents in keeping the workers out of politics.

In this strategem, typical of capitalism everywhere, the American occupation will come up against a problem organic to the new stage of imperialist expanison. It has robbed the Japanese capitalists of the colonial wealth whereby they were formerly able, in however limited a manner, to bribe a labor aristocracy. The Japanese labor leaders who are today assuring the occupation authorities of their reliability will therefore be hard put to find a social base for their betrayal of the mass of workers.

MacArthur has forbidden the Japanese government workers to strike. To get around this, the workers, like the British miners, have developed the tactic of mass absenteeism. In this way, step by step, they are forcing the Social-Democracy and the MacArthur occupation to expose the counter-revolutionary fist that lurks beneath the disguise of the new democracy. The present weakness of the Stalinists in Japan makes it difficult for the counter-revolution to attribute the growing revolt to "alien agitators."

A crisis is expected in Japan within the next few months. The actions of the Japanese workers have already revealed their revolutionary strivings to build a new social order. We can expect that in the next period they will establish new landmarks in working class history on the revolutionary road to their own power.

In this article we cannot deal with the revolutionary program which is needed to build the revolutionary party in Japan. The International Executive Committee of the Fourth International in May of this year addressed an open letter to the Workers and Peasants of Japan. It appears in the September-October issue of the **Fourth International.** We recommend it to all the readers of **The Militant.**

Strike Wave Forces Collapse of Ramadier Regime

In face of the mounting wave of strikes in France, Premier Paul Ramadier handed in his resignation Nov. 19. This action constitutes recognition of the inability of his regime to do anything about the unbearable rise in the cost of living which is forcing the French workers into action.

Ramadier's resignation likewise indicates how narrow the ground has become in France for "compromise" regimes. Reaction is consolidating around de Gaulle, threatening to establish a dictatorship like that of Franco in Spain. Alarmed by this development, the workers want action to prevent such a disaster.

Thus the political parties standing between these two camps are steadily losing strength. The Socialist Party, to which Ramadier belongs, is itself shot through with differences. The left wing recently won a majority in the Executive Committee. This majority decided that Ramadier must go and forced his resignation.

This majority is now attempting to replace Ramadier by the aged Leon Blum in a desperate effort to maintain the slipping balance between de Gaulle on the right and the militant sections of the working class on the left.

CIVIL WAR POSSIBLE

Guy Mollet, secretary of the Socialist Party admitted Nov. 19 that "civil war" is "certainly threatened" and "probably would become international, like that in Spain." He said that no one in his party wanted to be either a French Kerensky or a Noske. (The Kerensky regime in Russia preceded the November, 1917, revolution. The Noske regime in Germany suppressed the attempts of the German workers in 1918 to establish a Workers' and Farmers' Government.)

However, if the Socialists succeed in setting up such a stop gap regime, it will prove short-lived.

The current wave of strikes which forced Ramadier's resignation began in Marseilles when the Stalinist-controlled unions there staged a protest demonstration over an increase in street car fares decreed by the new de Gaullist mayor.

Four demonstrators were arrested. When their case came up Nov. 12 a huge crowd took over first the court and then City Hall. Later in the day a Stalinist youth was shot and killed.

The seamen and longshoremen under Stalinist leadership called for a general strike and proceeded to sew up the port.

Troops were rushed to Marseilles, but by Nov. 18 the number of workers on strike had swelled to 85,000 and the strike continued to spread to other major ports.

On Nov. 15 Ramadier staged a series of raids in Marseilles, arresting 82 trade union leaders of whom six were held for trial on charges of having led the "rioting" and strikes.

DEMONSTRATIONS MOUNT

Truckloads of armed mobile guards continued to pour into the city to be met by mingled boos and cheers of crowds lining the streets. Tanks and armored cars were rushed in by rail. Soldiers stationed at City Hall barred all entry. The City Council and the courts suspended activities. North African troops were ordered to act as scabs in unloading ships.

Demonstrations broke out all over France. In the Lille mine basin 30,000 coal miners downed tools Nov. 17 to protest the removal of Gaston Delfosse, Stalinist head of the Government coal administration. Delfosse was discharged by Ramadier's cabinet.

Strike action spread from pit to pit with such rapidity that within a few days 105,000 out of a total of 114,000 miners in this region were out.

The auto workers at Renault, Hotchkiss, Simca, Citroen, Ford and Gnome-Rhone walked out. The secretary of the Metal Workers Union in the Paris region called for "total strike."

The flour millers of Lille and Marseilles joined 4,500 Paris millers on strike; and 12,000 Paris school teachers voted for strike action to begin Nov. 21. The total number of workers on strike in France on Nov. 19 was estimated at 400,000.

In Le Havre, a Socialist mayor resigned when the Stalinists protested his selection by the newly-elected City Council. The de Gaullists then resigned too and the national government appointed a committee to run the city pending another election.

In Paris, Stalinist members of the City Council demonstratively walked out when Pierre de Gaulle, brother of Gen. Charles de Gaulle, was elected council president.

HEATED DEBATE

The National Assembly debated the Marseilles events with great heat. Ramadier threatened to "go the limit" in fighting such demonstrations; and the Stalinists announced they would now follow an independent policy. Heretofore they have described themselves as a party of the government even though they were kicked out of cabinet.

To meet the most recent jumps in prices, the Stalinist-dominated General Confederation of Labor on Nov. 12 adopted a manifesto calling on all workers in France to join in a demand for higher wages to be met by Dec. 19. The demand includes lifting the present minimum of 7,000 francs ($58) for a month of 200 hours to 10,800 francs ($90) with all wages now above this level to be raised proportionately.

In addition the manifesto demands revision of all wage scales every 3 months to meet new price rises. It likewises calls for the formation of workers committees to include sections of the population besides union members.

The Ramadier regime responded to this manifesto two days later by raising the price of gas and electricity 45%, of railway and subway fares 25%, and freight rates 28.5%. This, of course, added fresh fuel to the flames.

Italy Shaken by Nation-Wide Demonstrations

By Joseph Hansen

When the Italian working class finished accounts with Mussolini, only one obstacle stood in the road of a socialist revolution. That obstacle was the Stalinists. They checked the masses from moving forward. Taking key cabinet posts, they acted as lifeguards for capitalism, saving it from drowning in the revolutionary wave that came with the end of the war.

The Stalinists had the power at any time in the past two years to launch the decisive struggle to overturn the capitalist system and set up a Workers' and Farmers' Government. As recently as two months ago, the masses surged once more toward power. Agricultural laborers seized the land. Workers took over City Halls. Strikes paralyzed the country from end to end as more than 2,000,000 downed tools.

But the Stalinists, although ousted from the government, continued their counter-revolutionary role of halting, checking and paralyzing the struggle. Once again they used their positions of leadership to prevent the workers from setting up their own government.

A SHIFT

Now the Stalinists have made a shift. On the eve of the London Conference they have begun talking of "revolution." They have gone even further, initiating demonstrations and strike action.

It might be expected that after the September experiences, the workers would be too exhausted, too disillusioned to again come into the streets so soon, particularly at a time and for reasons arbitrarily chosen by the Stalinists without regard to the needs and mood of the Italian workers themselves.

Yet the Italian workers immediately began moving when the Stalinists loosened the brakes they have kept clamped down on the struggle since the war's end.

The gas workers staged a nation-wide strike, organized to spread progressively from city to city. In Milan they took possession of the gas works and proclaimed their intention of serving the city with gas and electricity free of charge.

Other workers in Milan set fire Nov. 11 to the headquarters of the fascist Common Man Front movement and wrecked the printing plant of the Monarchist newspaper **Mattini d'Italia** after a bomb was thrown at Stalinist headquarters.

In Genoa, hundreds of "activists" came to the center of the city in trucks belonging to the Chamber of Labor. Their demonstration included wrecking the headquarters of the reactionary Nationalist Party and the headquarters of the pro-fascist Italian Social Movement.

POLICE ATTACK

By Nov. 13 strikes and demonstrations had spread to 20 cities. In Naples, workers protesting the bomb throwing in Milan marched through the streets burning reactionary newspapers found on newsstands. They were attacked by police who used tear gas, gun butts and clubs against them. Many wounded were taken to hospitals.

Later the Naples workers demolished the headquarters of some of the most reactionary political parties.

As the de Gasperi regime mobilized troops and army tanks, similar scenes were repeated all over Italy. The main action of the workers was directed against the monarchists and fascists, direct action being taken particularly against their headquarters and newspapers.

The railroad workers have not yet joined in strike action but it was rumored that the Stalinist-controlled General Confederation of Labor is preparing to call them out too.

On Nov. 16 the Communist (Stalinist) Party issued a call for unity to oust the de Gasperi regime. The resolution demanded that "control of all production and hiring be placed in the hands of the workers, of the laborers, technicians, and employees."

De GASPERI

By Nov. 18 the agricultural workers in certain sections appeared to be moving. At Corato, a small town near the port of Bari, strikers cut all communications and beseiged the police barracks.

In response to wireless appeals, the de Gasperi regime ordered out the army; and the Ninth Infantry Regiment rushed in trucks to rescue the police.

These widespread demonstrations testify to the acuteness of the problems facing the Italian people in the post-war world. At the slightest hint of a call for action they immediately begin moving.

There is not the least doubt that a Workers' and Farmers' Government could shortly come to power in Italy if the Stalinists do not choose once more to clamp down the brakes.

Two questions thus at once arise. How far do the Stalinists intend to go? In what way will the masses respond?

The Stalinist objective is obvious. They are trying to center the demonstrations against the Marshall Plan, the intervention of American imperialism in Italian affairs and Wall Street's war preparations.

They are trying to use the Italian masses as pawns in the Kremlin's attempt to pressure Washington into a deal on Stalin's terms. The obvious coincidence between the demonstrations in Italy, the demonstrations in France and the holding of the Conference of Foreign Ministers in London is alone sufficient to show that behind the Stalinist turn in Italy are the requirements of Moscow's foreign policy.

Thus Stalinist politics in Italy during the past few weeks must be characterized as adventuristic. Moscow has the limited aim of demonstrating to Washington that no regime in Italy can govern without the Stalinists or against them and that consequently Washington must utilize Stalinist services to maintain capitalism there.

However, what Stalin wants is one thing. What the Italian masses want is another.

Correction

Last week's issue printed an advertisement for the new Internal Bulletin of the Fourth International, Vol. II, No. 18, now available from Pioneer Publishers at 25 cents. Through an error the words "in French" were omitted. Anyone ordering this bulletin should understand its entire contents are in the French language.

Noblesse Oblige

Princess Elizabeth, the darling of the American press, strolled through a picket line with queenly grace in London. Striking workers of the Savoy Hotel saw Lizzie and her flunkies amble through to a flower show held inside.

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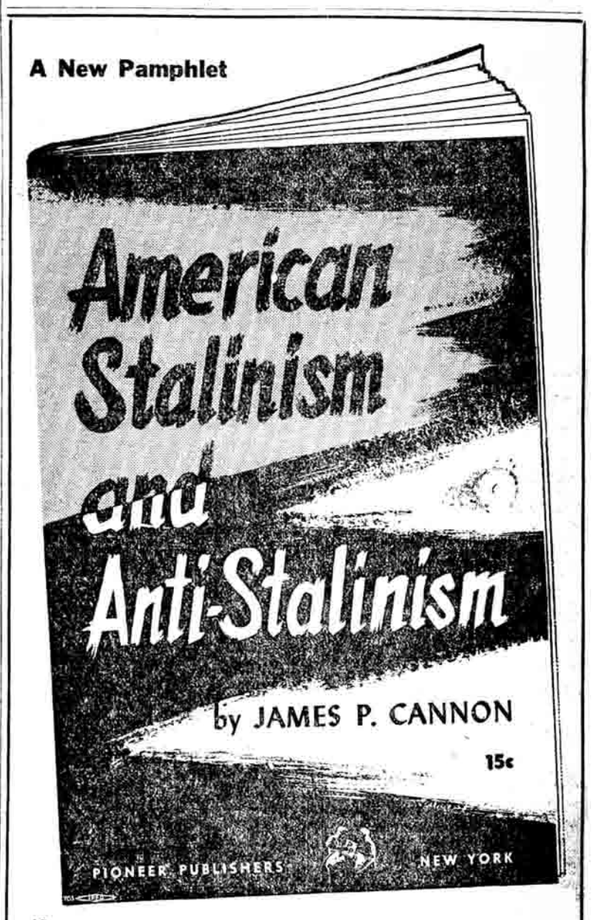

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"Entered as second class matter Mar. 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of Mar. 3, 1879."

Vol. XI—No. 47 Monday, November 24, 1947

"The attempt to solve the Jewish question through the migration of Jews to Palestine can now be seen for what it is, a tragic mockery of the Jewish people. Interested in winning the sympathies of the Arabs who are more numerous than the Jews, the British government has sharply altered its policy toward the Jews, and has actually renounced its promise to help them found their 'own home' in a foreign land. The future development of military events may well transform Palestine into a bloody trap for several hundred thousand Jews. Never was it so clear as it is today that the salvation of the Jewish people is bound up inseparably with the overthrow of the capitalist system."

—Leon Trotsky, 1940

Preparing for the 1948 Elections

President Truman's message to Congress was another gun fired by the Democratic Party in preparation for the 1948 elections.

Senator Taft's criticism of that message was one more gun fired by the Republican Party in its preparations for the 1948 elections.

But what about labor? What guns did it fire in reply to Truman and Taft as part of its preparations for the 1948 elections?

AFL President Green timidly tossed a wet firecracker into the press indicating a weak doubt about the advisability at present of the wage freeze suggested by Truman.

CIO President Murray dropped flat on his belly and crawled for a slit trench, informing the press that he was calling a meeting of the 9 CIO Vice Presidents come Dec. 2 to "enunciate the policy on those subjects the CIO will provide its affiliates."

This represented about the total reaction of the top bureaucracy now drawing fat salaries to watch out for the interests of the 15,000,000 members of organized labor in America.

Obviously, if any preparing for the 1948 election is to be done, it's up to the rank and file of the trade unions to do it. If you want your voice to be heard in Washington you've got to do the yelling yourself. If you want to begin constructing a steam roller for the 1948 elections, you've got to depend on your own brawn, guts and intelligence to do the job.

The workers, through their local PAC, LEPL and trade union bodies, should get to work without delay in formulating a program to meet their problems. Then this program should be taken to the Congressman from your district and the two Senators from your State to let them know the workers want this program supported in Washington.

We suggest that Political Check-Up Committees be organized in the PAC, LEPL and similar bodies. These Political Check-Up Committees should keep track of the activities of these politicians and keep the spotlight of publicity on them as well as giving wide circulation to the program labor wants enacted.

The work of such Political Check-Up Committees would help immeasurably in preparing for the next election. Week by week the performance of office holders could be measured against their campaign promises; thus establishing with crystal clarity that the Democrats and Republicans must be replaced by labor's own candidates. The necessity for a Labor Party would become so obvious that its actual construction would be enormously speeded up.

Thanksgiving Day

As the capitalists sit down to their Thanksgiving dinner this year, they have much to be grateful for.

Profits are the highest in all history—higher even than in the bonanza war days. Their monopoly of government remains unchallenged, even after plunging America into world war a second time, thanks to the servile bureaucracy that heads the trade union movement. Reaction is marching ahead both at home and abroad. And their Democratic-Republican machine has accomplished much in advancing Wall Street's plans for world conquest.

From the viewpoint of America's 60 ruling families much may still be wanting, but capitalism is nevertheless certainly the best of all possible systems.

Workers, however, have little to offer thanks for as they sit down at their Thanksgiving table.

Prices continue to mount—far above the peaks hit during the war. There is no hope of relief from the pressure of inflation save the looming threat of depression with its mass unemployment and hunger.

Since last Thanksgiving the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Act has gone into effect. The entire trade union movement now faces the worst threat to its independent existence in decades.

"Loyalty" purges, witch-hunts and rampant red-baiting are fostering native fascism. Already organized bands of hoodlums have broken up meetings of the PCA and the Stalinists in various cities as a preliminary to more extensive moves against other sections of the labor movement.

Europe still lies prostrate two years after the war's end. The flames of civil war and colonial conflict rage in the Far East. Wall Street is draining the U. S. Public Treasury to bolster up reaction in both those areas as well as in Latin America.

Worst of all, the specter of atomic war becomes more and more real as Wall Street moves ruthlessly toward domination of the entire globe. How many Thanksgivings are left before the American workers and farmers are mobilized for new expeditionary armies, if Big Business has its way?

Thanksgiving Day in 1947 looks grim indeed. Let's strive to make the next one more hopeful by doing everything we can to step up the fight to end the rotting capitalist system and replace it with socialism.

Some Photographs from Greece

Out of Greece in recent weeks have come pictures of atrocities such as are generally ascribed in imperialist war propaganda to the "enemy."

Typical photographs are the ones showing a young man and a young woman standing side by side as the firing squad prepares. Then their bodies crumpled on the ground. With a caption describing how these two rebels died singing the "Internationale."

Other photographs show monarchist troops holding up the severed heads of partisans as gruesome trophies of war.

These photographs are not faked atrocity items designed to inspire horror over the alleged barbarism and savagery of the foe. They are boastful evidences of the activities of the armed forces now being advised and directed by U.S. Army officers!

They are intended to show the American public how the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan are working out in Greece. They are intended to win fresh support for Wall Street's intervention in that unhappy land.

Who are these victims—this heroic young couple facing the firing squad, these heads dangling by the hair from bloody hands? They are civilians. They are patriots who refused to bow to the tyrannical regime of quislings set up in their land by the British and American imperialists.

Seeing these evidences of the operation of the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan in Greece who can raise his hand in favor of extending them all over Europe?

Approval of the Marshall Plan means approval of these atrocities. It means approval of Wall Street's plan for similar "benefits" in other lands.

When you read the propaganda in the capitalist press about the "necessity" of backing the Marshall Plan, think of that young couple bravely facing guns made in the USA. Think of the monarchist knife edging through the vertebrae of Greek patriots.

And then decide whether you want to back the Marshall Plan for the rest of Europe.

Continue Hickman's Defense

The trial of James Hickman for murder in Chicago ended with a split jury, resulting in a mistrial. The State of Illinois refuses to relinquish its victim and is preparing a second trial. Why is the State so relentless in its pursuit of Hickman? Would it not be just and humane to free this tragic figure now that a jury of 12 men and women has been unable to agree that he should be further punished?

Hickman did not kill his landlord for gain. He did it because he was crazed with grief over the horrible deaths of his four children. For this he held responsible his landlord, who had threatened to burn the Hickman family out.

James Hickman's whole life was his family. He struggled against poverty and discrimination to bring them out of the South and give them a better life. He worked in the steel mills to give them a home. The Jim Crow masters of Chicago had decreed that the home for his wife and seven children would be a single attic room without water or gas or lights. Then his money-grasping landlord threatened eviction and fire if Hickman resisted. In the fire four innocent children were burned to death.

No person with a spark of human understanding and mercy can hold Hickman responsible for his deed. The responsibility and guilt lies clearly on capitalist society and Jim Crow which the State of Illinois condones.

The Hickman Defense Committee has achieved a notable victory in the first trial. It has prevented a terrible injustice from being committed, but only temporarily. The State of Illinois is still seeking his conviction. He can be freed only if the Defense Committee can carry on its work.

This means that all trade unions, Negro and other organizations and individuals sympatheic to the plight of the oppressed and desirous of seeing justice done must support the Hickman Defense Committee. Send all contributions and resolutions to the Hickman Defense Committee, 4619 South Parkway, Chicago 15, Illinois.

Workers' BOOKSHELF

LONELY CRUSADE, by Chester Himes, Knopf, 398 pp., 1947, $3.

LONELY CRUSADE is the story of Lee Gordon, a Negro union organizer. It describes the accumulating strains and contradictions in a Negro intellectual who is crushed and stifled by the system of Jim Crow and is seeking some way to defeat the fate that capitalism decrees for the Negro people.

The novel, however, contains a profound contradiction, the contradiction of many a Negro intellectual. On the one hand, Chester Himes, the author, presents powerfully the profound effect of the oppression of a people on a sensitive Negro. Pervading the whole book is the constant fear and tension which is the inevitable result of the Negro's position in present day American society.

The system which enforces a status of inferiority in every phase of private and public life through age-old traditions and customs backed up by the armed might represented by the police and the courts, corrodes even the personal relations of the oppressed Negro minority. How Lee Gordon's family life, his love for his wife, are destroyed by the all-powerful Jim Crow is tragically and effectively pictured.

The bitterness, the resentment, the hopelessness are an integral part of the story and succeed in building up a tension in the reader that puts him, to an extent, in the place of the hero.

For this aspect of the story, the book should be read especially by white workers. Even with the best will in the world, too often a worker cannot feel what racial oppression means to the Negro. He cannot understand that with the distortions and perversions which capitalism introduces into all human relations, what is accepted as normal in relations between whites can be merely another sign of his enforced inferiority in relations between a Negro and a white.

The second side of the book, however, has no merit at all. And that is the heart of the question—the solution to the problem of the cruel and inhuman oppression of the Negro.

The author, who is a Negro intellectual, looks about and finds no hope anywhere—not in the capitalist class, not in the working class, not in the Stalinists (whom he detests), and, most significantly, not even in the Negro people. As a result, the salvation of Lee Gordon takes place in a purely personal—and fatalistic—way. At the end of the book he dies heroically for what seems to the author to be no cause at all.

The whole story revolves around a union organizing campaign; yet it might as well have been a military campaign or a jungle expedition for all the understanding of the labor movement that is shown. The characters connected with the union are almost in every case artificial types. And this isn't just a literary criticism—throughout the book there is displayed a contempt for the workers and especially the Negro workers. The Negroes portrayed by this Negro intellectual all shift with the wind, have no courage and no understanding.

We could debate this question with Mr. Himes. We could explain that the liberation of the Negroes will be accomplished precisely by these workers whom he holds to be so inferior. We could point to the past record of heroic struggle of Negro workers together with their white brothers that built the great unions of the CIO. We could point to the tremendous contribution the Negroes have made in providing leadership to the labor movement. But I don't think this would convince Mr. Himes.

The truth of the matter is that he does not know the worker, and least of all the Negro worker. It is understandable that to an oppressed intellectual the superiority of his education should be an important thing. Yet the most untutored Negro steel worker or auto worker knows more about the struggle for freedom and equality than Mr. Himes can ever know. For he has fought for his rights and for the rights of all workers together with his brothers. He knows who is the enemy and who his ally. While Mr. Himes has fought with his typewriter alone in his own room.

In a manner which he did not intend, Himes has written the story of his own disillusionment—not the story of the Negro worker who is writing his own story in his own way.

—Martin Harvey

THE WAYWARD BUS by John Steinbeck, Viking Press, 1947, 312 pp., $2.75.

Steinbeck's latest novel lacks the social significance which characterized such earlier works as **The Grapes of Wrath** and **Tortilla Flat.** It is a character study of a group of people from various walks of life who are brought into close contact with one another when the bus is stalled on a lonely country road.

Mr. Big Business, deprived of the insulation provided by his friends, his club, and his office, is forced to associate on equal terms with a waitress, a mechanic's helper, and a Mexican bus driver. The most striking contrast is that of the optimistic business man and the disillusioned veteran.

The business man has no idea that the world has changed. It has made a few mistakes, but a "right man," like Bob Taft for instance, will come along and set everything in order; the strikes will stop and everybody will make money and be happy.

The veteran sees a world where only hopelessness prevails. "Thrift and honesty—Teapot Dome fixed the first and 1930 fixed the second—are dead." And nobody has put anything in their place. This brief glimpse into the evils of modern society provides the one significant, worthwhile chapter of the book.

Through the entire story the characters are involved to a rather overpowering degree with sex. Mrs. Big Business very unscrupulously uses the sex angle to gratify her own selfish whims and desires at the expense of her husband's happiness. She is the martyr who must be rewarded for her kindness. Their daughter rebels against the "syrupy" tyranny of her mother and consoles herself with an affair with the bus driver. The struggle of this society girl against the inhibitions of her class and her blind stab for freedom of thought provides another high-light of the story.

Although the characters are superb and the contrasts striking, the book seems to lack any aim. Steinbeck presents an accurate picture of life, but from a revolutionary point of view the picture is incomplete. He fails to point out the significance of the picture, and most readers will be left with a feeling of confused helplessness.

—Norma Christensen

Victor Serge Dies

Victor Serge, one of the noted figures in the Russian Revolution and an opponent of Stalin, died of a heart attack in Mexico City, November 18, at the age of 57.

Serge was born in Belgium in 1890. His parents were Russian revolutionary emigres. In early youth he joined the Belgian Socialist movement. He worked as a photographer and printer. Imprisoned for his political activities in France he was sentenced to five years imprisonment. After his release he went to Spain where he worked as a linotypist and was active in the syndicalist National Confederation of Labor (CNT). In 1917 he left Spain for revolutionary Russia, but the imperialist government of France, then waging war, arrested him and held him in a concentration camp.

In 1919, the Soviet government secured his exchange for a French officer held prisoner in Russia. He became a member of the Bolshevik Party and a member of the executive committee of the Comintern.

From 1923 he was a member of the Left Opposition organized by Trotsky in his struggle against the growing Stalinist bureaucracy.

He was expelled from the Stalinized Communist Party in 1928 and imprisoned. He remained a political prisoner until 1936 when pressure from workers and writers secured his release on the grounds of his birth outside Russia.

Upon his release he wrote books and pamphlets describing conditions in the Soviet Union and the continuing fight of the imprisoned Trotskyists against Stalinism.

With the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War, Serge became a supporter of the centrist policies of the POUM and thereby a political opponent of Trotskyism. He began to write articles falsely identifying Bolshevism with Stalinism. In the last years of his life he collaborated with such outright opportunists as the Social Democratic Federation in this country.

When the Nazis overran France, Serge had to flee for his life. Mexico was the only nation which offered him refuge.

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF MOTHER JONES

Installment 5

STRUGGLES IN WEST VIRGINIA

The United Mine Workers had tried to organize Kelly Creek on the Kanawah River but without result. Mr. Burke and Tom Lewis, members of the board of the United Mine Workers, decided to go look the field over for themselves. They took the train one night for Kelly Creek. The train came to a high trestle over a steep canyon. Under some pretext all the passengers except the two union officials were transferred to another coach, the coach uncoupled and pulled across the trestle.

The officials were left on the trestle in the stalled car. They had to crawl on their hands and knees along the tracks. Pitch blackness was below them. The trestle was a one-way track. Just as they got to the end of the trestle, a train thundered by.

When I heard of the coal company's efforts to kill the union officers, I decided I myself must go to Kelly Creek and rouse those slaves. I took a 19-year-old boy, Ben Davis, with me. We walked on the east bank of the Kanawah River on which Kelly Creek is situated. Before daylight one morning, at a point opposite Kelly Creek, we forded the river.

It was just dawn when I knocked at the door of a store run by a man by the name of Marshall. I told him what I had come for. He was friendly. He took me in a little back room where he gave me breakfast. He said if anyone saw him giving food to Mother Jones he would lose his store privilege. He told me how to get my bills announcing my meeting into the mines by noon. But all the time he was frightened and kept looking out the little window.

Late that night a group of miners gathered about a mile from town between the boulders. We could not see one another's faces in the darkness. By the light of an old lantern I gave them the pledge.

40 MINERS BLACKLISTED

The next day, forty men were discharged, blacklisted. There had been spies among the men the night before. The following night we organized another group and they were all discharged. This started the fight. Mr. Marshall, the grocery man, got courageous. He rented me his store and I began holding meetings there. The general manager for the mines came over from Columbus and he held a meeting too.

"Shame," he said, "to be led away by an old woman!"

"Hurrah for Mother Jones!" shouted the miners.

The following Sunday I held a meeting in the woods. The general manager, Mr. Jack Rowen, came down from Columbus on his special car. I organized a parade of the men that Sunday. We had every miner with us. We stood in front of the company's hotel and yelled for the general manager to come out. He did not appear. Two of the company's lap dogs were on the porch. One of them said, "I'd like to hang that old woman to a tree."

"Yes," said the other, "and I'd like to pull the rope."

On we marched to our meeting place under the trees. Over a thousand people came and the two lap dogs came sniveling along too. I stood up to speak and I put my back to a big tree and pointing to the curs, I said, "You said that you would like to hang this old woman to a tree! Well, here's the old woman and here's the tree. Bring along your rope and hang her!"

And so the union was organized in Kelly Creek. I do not know whether the men have held the gains they wrested from the company. Taking men into the union is just the kindergarten of their education and every force is against their further education. Men who live up those lonely creeks have only the mine owners' YMCA's, the mine owners' doctors and newspapers to look to for their ideas. So they don't get many.

"MOTHER, YOU'RE UNDER ARREST"

In June of 1902 I was holding a meeting of the bituminous miners of Clarksburg, West Virginia. I was talking on the strike question, for what else among miners should one be talking of? Nine organizers sat under a tree near by. A United States marshal notified them to tell me that I was under arrest. One of them came up to the platform.

"Mother," said he, "you're under arrest. They've got an injunction against your speaking."

I looked over at the United States marshall and I said, "I will be right with you. Wait till I run down." I went on speaking till I had finished. Then I said, "Goodbye, boys; I'm under arrest. I may have to go to jail. I may not see you for a long time. Keep up this fight! Don't surrender! Pay no attention to the injunction machine at Parkersburg. The Federal judge is a scab anyhow. While you starve he plays golf. While you serve humanity, he serves injunctions for the money powers."

That night several of the organizers and myself were taken to Parkersburg, a distance of 84 miles. We were taken to the Federal court for trial. We had violated something they called an injunction. Whatever the bosses did not want the miners to do they got out an injunction against doing it. The company put a woman on the stand. She testified that I had told the miners to go into the mines and throw out the scabs. She was a poor skinny woman with scared eyes and she wore her best dress, as if she were in church. I looked at the miserable slave of the coal company and I felt sorry for her: sorry that there was a creature so low who would perjure herself for a handful of coppers.

I was put on the stand and the judge asked me if I gave that advice to the miners, told them to use violence.

"You know, sir," said I, "that it would be suicidal for me to make such a statement in public. I am more careful than that. You've been on the bench 40 years, have you not, judge?"

"Yes, I have that," said he.

"And in 40 years you learn to discern between a lie and the truth, judge?"

The prosecuting attorney jumped to his feet and shaking his finger at me, he said, "Your honor, there is the most dangerous woman in the country today. She called your honor a scab. But I will recommend mercy of the court if she will consent to leave the state and never return."

"I didn't come into the court asking mercy," I said, "but I came here looking for justice. And I will not leave this state so long as there is a single little child that asks me to stay and fight his battle for bread."

A chap came tiptoeing up to me and whispered, "Madam, don't say 'judge' or 'sir' to the court. Say 'Your Honor'."

"Who is the court?" I whispered back.

"His honor, on the bench," he said, looking shocked.

"Are you referring to the old chap behind the justice counter? Well, I can't call him 'Your Honor' until I know how honorable he is. You know I took an oath to tell the truth when I took the witness stand."

He did not sentence me, just let me go, but he gave the men who were arrested with me sixty and ninety days in jail.

(Reprinted by permission of Charles H. Kerr Co., Publishers, Chicago, Ill.)

Workers' Forum

The Workers' Forum columns are open to the opinions of the readers of "The Militant." Letters are welcome on any subject of interest to the workers. Keep them short and include your name and address. Indicate if you want your name printed.

After 40 Years Holds It's Time for Labor To Build Own Party

Editor:

I am getting somewhat discouraged after 40 years trying to get our class to defeat the Siamese twins only to find that our class continues to end up on the side of the opposition.

The trade unions give half their effort to the workers and the other half to the capitalists. The Gompers nature has settled so deep, that they can't shake it off.

What we need is a new party for 1948. We needed it 40 years ago. We shouldn't wait any longer.

One thing I would like to see if we ever get a party of our own is to adopt the initiative, the referendum and recall so we can control the men we elect.

I want to congratulate you on what you do to show your readers the way to a better world. I don't think there is a better paper in the United States.

L. B. C.
Hamilton, Ohio

Three Who Taught Me Why We Must Fight For a Socialist World

Editor:

When I feel impatient, I remember the self-sacrificing workers who brought me into the revolutionary movement. The thought that their sacrifices were greater than any I have made makes me feel humble and ashamed of my own impatience.

Until I was hurt by the depression in my late twenties, I never gave any thought to the class struggle or to social problems of any kind. To me it had always seemed that the smartest and strongest got the best and the rest were not worth much. But when people willing to work hard at the poorest kind of job couldn't find anything, it put me to thinking.

One day I found a small leaflet put out by the Socialists (Norman Thomas variety) of my city. They said they wanted to change the system. Immediately I decided that a system that could not supply jobs for millions of people willing to work needed changing.

When I found the Socialist Party, it was a typical Norman Thomas group made up almost entirely of small business and professional people, down on their luck. As soon as the depression was over, they again became "respectable."

There was one fellow a little different from the others, an accountant, who stuck and continued to follow his muddled type of Socialism until the day he died. He taught me that Socialism was the only solution and the thing to fight for no matter if it was a very long fight.

While I believed in Socialism, I still did not understand the class struggle. So, when my stomach was very empty and I had an opportunity to fill it by doing a little scabbing in the rank and file strike of the seamen that built the National Maritime Union in 1936-37, I did it. However, as one scab said, "We got what we deserved."

Shortly before we reached Europe, on the second trip out, we learned that we were taking oil and dry cargo to Franco-controlled Spain which we knew he would use against the Loyalists.

I met a Spanish worker who spoke English. He took American seamen around to the different places where seamen like to spend their money. I felt that he was sympathetic to the Loyalists so I asked him about events in Spain.

"Here they shoot you for what you think," he warned me. Then, risky as it was for him, he made it possible for me to see a new and different world.

"They will never take Madrid," he told me. (This was when the American papers were predicting the fall of Madrid at any moment.) "They have a machine gun in every house and will have to kill every person there. They have a workers' government."

Often I wonder about that Spanish worker I owe so much to who set me on the path to find the right political party. To have to live under Franco (if he has not already been killed) and have to fight under such harsh conditions, that is a real sacrifice. I am ashamed to talk about any sacrifices I have made after thinking about his.

Later in my home town, a Southern city which seemed an impossible place to do anything to help build a better world, I ran into a Negro who taught me that we "should get with the people," as he put it.

Van was past middle age, but he was always so cheerful and enthusiastic I never could think of him as not being young. He was chased off his farm for helping to organize sharecroppers, and was blacklisted in the city so that it was very difficult for him to get and keep any kind of job.

For a Negro in the South to do the things he did for the workers was dangerous. The only possession he had left from better days was a 30-30 Winchester. No matter how tough things got, he would not sell or pawn it. He knew he might need it. As he said, "I am not a coward."

Whenever I visited his small, miserable little room at night, I always made sure he knew who it was before opening the door, because the gun was not an ornament.

Van knew little about the Socialist Workers Party when I met him. Some liberals who suspected me of being a Communist, had told him to report on me. He asked me what I believed. When I told him about our party and its goals, he said: "That is what I have been looking for."

From then until the day he died, he had one interest, one goal—to aid in every way possible to hasten the Socialist revolution in America.

He died of pneumonia while I was in the Army. His last letter was written by someone else as he was too sick to write. But even though he knew he would not live, Van was not concerned about himself. He wanted to be sure I took care of myself so that I could keep doing our work.

When I think of Van, I think of the millions of workers who have devoted their energies and minds to building a new, beautiful world for us all. Van said, "Get with the people." He meant not for just today, or tomorrow, but forever, until we get this mess called capitalism cleaned up. And then we go on and on, forever, with the people, building a better world.

Lee Ryan
St. Louis, Mo.

TO THE RUSSIAN WORKERS

Comrades, heroic pioneers,
Though long the epic days are past,
Though over you the despot sneers
And everywhere his chains are cast,
Take heart! the lesson that you gave
To all enslaved humanity
Has kindled hope within the slave,
The will to struggle and be free.

The fiends who yet oppress and kill
In drunken drives to stem disaster
Can not bend history to **their** will;
Ours is a power stronger, vaster.
Amid the orgies of the damned
We greet you, confident and sober,
Knowing the world they rule is jammed
With powder for the new October.

—Jack Hughes

Suggests Cartoonist Portray Dummies on Wall Street's Knee

Editor:

Suggest your cartoonist portray Wall Street as the master ventriloquist with a string of dummies on each knee labelled Taft, Stassen, Truman, Eisenhower, etc.

Another two bags of dummies could be labelled Democrats and Republicans.

Certain labor leaders should be shown holding on to the dummies' coat tails, claiming they are "friends of labor" to fool us workers in 1948.

D. W. M.
Portland, Ore.

Thinks Rich Men Will Rule Under Socialism

Editor:

I was for the past year a reader of **The Militant** and now you request me to renew my subscription. Well, I have to be shown where Socialism is worth a nickel.

I advocate capitalism, but not as it is in America as it is abused. If the element of monopoly was destroyed, we can have prosperity. You cannot bring any good by stressing Socialism, as it cannot succeed.

The reason is that if America went to the Socialist rule, the same rich men who run the present set up will run the whole show and they will have more power than they now do. That will be a fine mess.

We now do have the chance of competing but it is not as free as it should be. But if the nationalizing of industry and agriculture should be in effect, our heritage will be gone. I was born a free man and do as I please and can enter any type of business I choose and I aim to keep my freedom.

I also think your atack from time to time on the Church is pretty low. One of your ads tends to make the readers believe that the existence of God is only a story.

A Reader
Portland, Ore.

SWP Branches Confident of Fulfilling Militant Fund Goal

By Rose Karsner
National Campaign Director

With less than a month to go to the termination of the $15,000 Militant Fund campaign, the total percentage on the scoreboard is low. This, however, is not an alarm signal. Every branch of the Socialist Workers Party has written assuring us it will fulfill its quota on time. Collections are slow because as Harold, the Chicago fund director, puts it: "After all, our members too are affected by this inflation." In the same letter we are assured that Chicago will reach its 100% by Dec. 15.

The last scoreboard will appear in the Dec. 22 issue of **The Militant**, thus giving all pledgers the full three months promised — Sept. 15 to Dec. 15.

FROM THE BRANCHES

Twin Cities — P.M.: "Although we are behind the percentage we should have by this time, I am confident we will more than fulfill our quota in its entirety by the deadline."

Philadelphia — Irene: "Enclosed is a money order. We shall have 100% in before the deadline."

St. Louis — "Most of the money is coming from the pockets of our members, but comrade Harry got out and collected some from sympathizers," says the local director.

FROM OUR READERS

Last week was **The Militant's** nineteenth anniversary, and a banner week in contributions from readers.

From M. M. of Minneapolis we received the following inspiring letter: "I am sitting here, thinking of the Hickman case, and to think of those children living, being burned to death, is so awful, that if any man have a reason to go 'berserk' that father sure had. And I would not dare to be the jury and judge to send that tormented father to the 'chair.' Landlordism is all wrong anyhow, just as all other private ownership of people's means of existence. May it all be a thing of the past soon.

"As to **The Militant** on its birthday, I salute you with congratulations and best wishes. Hoping you will continue to turn on the Light. . . . The dollar enclosed is for the Militant Fund."

Two dollar bills came with this letter: "Dear Sirs — Enclosed find $2 contribution to the current Militant Fund. Wish it were much more. Best of luck to you in your fight — Anonymous, N.Y.C."

C. Andrews says: "I pledge $40 — one week's pay. I enclose $10 but won't be able to pay the balance until the end of December."

Nathan Berman who, as we previously reported, took four coin cards, came in this week with $21 which he collected "in the market" (needle trades industry).

Topping all these and other contributions from readers, listed below, came a check for $200 from "B & C." These sympathizers had already sent in their coin cards with $1.70 in each.

Very few of our readers are able or willing to send so large a sum to keep **The Militant** going. Most of them find it hard to even spare $1. To these we say: do not hesitate to send only a coin. A quarter from you and each of those who have not as yet answered our appeal, can become hundreds of dollars for **The Militant.** So send along what you can.

From Cunningham $1.90; Friedman $1; Pran $2; Anonymous, Memphis $5; Swellander $2; Kraus $1; McClain 82c; Glover $1.50; Pospchel $1; Bark $1; Harris $2; Edwards $2.20; Fields $1.50; T. H. Mass $2; Ladbury $1.50; Gilbert $1; Meisner $2.

Scoreboard For $15,000 Militant Fund

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
ST. LOUIS	$ 50	$ 107	214
Allentown-Bethlehem	75	63	84
Flint	200	160	80
Newark	500	379	76
Buffalo	600	445	74
Milwaukee	200	141	70
New York	4,500	3,125	69
Philadelphia	300	208	69
Twin Cities	1,000	687	69
Pittsburgh	150	101	67
Cleveland	250	164	64
Oakland	250	148	59
Connecticut State	200	110	55
Youngstown	600	328	55
Boston	275	149	54
Los Angeles	1,500	793	53
Reading	100	50	50
San Diego	100	42	42
Rochester	25	10	40
Tacoma	25	10	40
Akron	300	107	36
San Francisco	1,250	451	36
Lynn	125	40	32
Seattle	300	97	32
Chicago	1,500	394	26
Toledo	150	39	26
Detroit	600	152	25
West Virginia	25	5	20
Massillon-Canton	50	0	0
General		429	
Members-at-large		55	
Readers		374	
TOTAL THROUGH NOV. 7		8,934	59

Washington Offers No Relief From Inflation

(Continued from Page 1)

atomic war against the Soviet Union.

Truman doesn't even touch on the real basis of the inflation.

Added to the enormous war debt of this country, is the terrific expenditure of government funds for military purposes, occupation of Germany and Japan, and maintenance of reactionary rulers in countries like Greece, Turkey, Italy, France, etc.

Last year alone, the total taxes extorted from the American people were about 56 billion dollars, mainly to the federal government. Truman has indicated that his "foreign aid" program, far from helping to relieve the tax load, will mean new taxes—all of which will ultimately come out of the living necessities of the workers and working farmers.

At the same time, the capitalists are grasping an enormous and ever greater share of the national income. Admitted corporation profits—after taxes—are piling up at an annual rate of 17½ billions, four times greater than in 1939 and double the lush steal of the war years.

All other forms of capitalist profits, non-corporation, banking, landlord, etc., now amount to 48 billions a year. Big executive salaries, bonuses and commissions mount up to such a huge total that the government does not dare to publish the figures, lumping these together with wages. This makes total wages appear far greater than they are and conceals a large portion of capitalist income.

HUGE SLICE

When we add taxes and profits together, we find that they absorb a huge slice of the national income. These are the twin evils to be attacked in order to defeat inflation.

If Truman wanted to offer a serious program to combat inflation, he would have begun with these measures:

Elimination of taxes on the poor and restoration of excess profits taxes and other taxes on the rich;

Elimination of the military and armaments expenditures;

Withdrawal of all troops from occupied countries;

Nationalization of basic industries, starting with the food processing monopolies, and their operation, without profits, under workers control.

These are measures it is clear that the capitalist government will never willingly undertake. Its first concern is protecting capitalist property interests and profits. Only the independent action of the workers, through their own economic and political organizations, will be able to achieve even the indispensable minimum measures against inflation.

Small Vote for SWP in New York

NEW YORK, Nov. 20—Robert Williams, Socialist Workers Party candidate for State Senator in the last election, received 198 votes, according to election returns received here today.

Although only a small percentage of the total vote cast, the vote for Williams compared favorably with that received by Farrell Dobbs, SWP candidate for Mayor in 1945. Dobbs had received 188 votes in the area that comprises the 23rd Senatorial District.

Zaretzky, a Democrat, was elected in the contest for State Senator, over candidates for the Republican, American Labor, Liberal, Socialist and Socialist Workers Party.

The campaign was used as an effective propaganda medium by the New York Local of the SWP. Eleven street meeting rallies were held, many of them using loud speaker equipment. 5,000 copies of an attractive election folder were distributed. 651 Militants, 64 subs to **The Militant** and 255 pamphlets were sold in the course of the campaign. Many new contacts were made.

For the first time in its history, the SWP appeared on the ballot under its own name in New York.

Warm Response to Militant Affair of Newark SWP

NEWARK, Nov. 17 — The local celebration of the 19th Anniversary of **The Militant** was the most successful affair held at the Newark Socialist Workers Party hall during the last year.

Over 80 people were present. The hall was strikingly decorated with a special **Militant** display.

"When Garrison started his famous Abolitionist paper, the **Liberator**, he wrote in its first issue: 'I am in earnest—I will not equivocate — I will not excuse — I will not retreat a single inch — and I WILL BE HEARD," said William F. Warde, the speaker of the evening. "It was with this same spirit that the founders of American Trotskyism launched their paper, **The Militant**, 19 years ago. These 20th century rebels were determined to fight for the abolition of the capitalist enslavement of the working class.

"The Militant has survived and grown since then because it fills the indispensable need of the American workers for enlightenment and guidance in the struggle for socialism.

A total of $113 was raised for The Militant Fund, and eight subscriptions to the paper were sold.

Friends of **The Militant** expressed great satisfaction with the celebration and asked that it be made a regular annual affair.

THE MILITANT ARMY

Militant Boosters Tell How They Obtain Subs

Practically every **Militant** reader wants to see achievement of that better world which **The Militant** advocates. Nearly every one can help advance that goal by obtaining new readers, interesting his friends and neighbors and fellow workers in "the fightingest labor paper in America.' Here's how some readers do it:

* * *

Our painter comrades in New York have been hitting the ball in getting subscriptions from their fellow workers. In three weeks they obtained 35 subs. Nat W. tops the group with 18 already to his credit. Here is his report:

"On the job or around the union hall, I've made it a point to get acquainted with all the best militants. I sell them single copies of **The Militant** for 5¢ and a week or so later ask what they think of it. Of course they like it. Then why not have it come by mail for less than 2 cents a copy through a subscription? They can't very well refuse.

"I don't know any easier way to promote the cause of the working class than to win new **Militant** readers. I feel I'm doing a great favor to myself and to every worker I sell the paper to, because that adds force to the movement for united understanding and action. **The Militant** is just what millions of workers have been looking for, a consistent program by and for the workers. But we've got to help them find what they're looking for."

* * *

Ethel Douglas, who chalked up 53 subs in a **Chicago** campaign but is now in New York, has a similar approach for door-to-door work.

"Practically all of us workers want the same things: higher wages, better working conditions and freedom from oppression, exploitation poverty and war. We all want to see the working class united. **The Militant** shows us how. That's the way I present it to workers I approach. It's easy; it's fun; it's inspiring—and it's mighty important."

* * 1

"When I go ringing doorbells," said Frieda Moore of **New York**, "I display **The Militant** with pride and confidence as the only paper in America with a consistent program of fighting for working class solidarity, in trade unions and in political action; for labor unity of all races, colors and creeds; for farmer-labor unity; against all forms of discrimination, segregation and exploitation; for a united Labor Party to carry onto the political plane what we're all striving for in our unions. All this for less than 2¢ a copy delivered every week by mail—52 weeks for $1 or 26 weeks—six months—for 50¢.

"Sometimes that's nearly all there is to it. Of course I usually point out some of the principal articles in **The Militant** I have with me. Often the worker brings up a particular question and we may discuss some union problems or current political or racial issue. These discussions help to sell the sub."

* * *

Again this week we have to thank 75-year-old James W. Connery of Kewanee, Ill., for another sub. "I have not been well for the last few weeks," he wrote, "but got out Saturday evening to round up one sub and the promise of another. . . . Will try to do better next time."

* * *

We would like to hear from many more **Militant** boosters. They usually send in subs without comment. Their various methods and experiences will help to make EVERY SUBSCRIBER A SUB-GETTER. What an appropriate way to mark **The Militant's** 19th Anniversary this month! And what an idea for Christmas gift selection and holiday visiting!

* * *

Among renewals received direct from subscribers this week was one from Hosea Haynes of Oklahoma: "I think it is a fine paper. I really do love to read it. I don't hardly stop until I read it through." John Boulds of Montana renewed for two years. Both these readers regretted to have missed some issues by overlooking expiration notices.

* * *

Nine hundred readers will miss the next issue unless they renew at once. The expiration date is on nearly every address label. Label numbers 11-44, 11-45, 11-46 and 11-47 also expire this month.

* * *

All that readers need do to renew is to enclose $1 (or 50¢ for six months) with name and address and the notation "Renewal" and mail to **The Militant,** 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y. Payment may be by check, money order, currency or stamps. Coins should be wrapped or gummed to a card.

* * *

More than 1,000 copies of the Nov. 10 **Militant** were distributed at the CIO United Automobile Workers convention in Atlantic City. They were well received by delegates and visitors.

* * *

Minneapolis and **Buffalo** branches distributed about 100 copies each of the Oct. 27 issue to union meetings in those cities.

19th Anniversary of 'The Militant' Celebrated by Twin Cities SWP

By Barbara Bruce

MINNEAPOLIS, Nov. 16—There was standing room only at the Twin City Militant Anniversary Celebration here last night. More than 100 people jammed the headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party in Minneapolis to celebrate the 19th birthday of the only revolutionary workers' paper in the United States.

Specially featured on the program was the showing of "Czar to Lenin," full-length sound film depicting actual scenes in Russian history during World War I and the Revolution of 1917.

Preceeding the movie Manuel Terbovich of Chicago spoke to the gathering on the history of **The Militant** and the role it has played in the American labor movement as a spearhead in the struggle for workers' rights. Friends and comrades from St. Paul and Minneapolis, among them many students from the University of Minnesota, contributed a total of $101 towards the Militant Fund.

After the film was shown, a smorgasbord lunch was served to those who stayed for the social, to talk and look around the headquarters, and the bookstode.

Decorations for the affair included a banner the length of the meeting hall, proclaiming "The Militant 19th Anniversary" in two-foot scarlet letters. Against one wall were mounted front pages from numerous copies of **The Militant,** including Volume I, Number 1. Bound volumes of **The Militant** from the first date of publication through 1946 made an imposing display. Many copies of the current issue of the paper were sold and a number of new subscriptions turned in.

This afternoon Terbovich spoke to the Twin-City Sunday Forum on "The Challenge to Organized Labor". The Forum is conducted every week by the Twin-City branches of the SWP.

N. Y. Marxist School Begins Its Fall Series

NEW YORK, Nov. 18—The Marxist Labor School began its second fall series last night at 116 University Place. The first course, given by Charles Carsten, is on the Reconstruction Period of the Second American Revolution; the second course, by John G. Wright, is "Boom-Bust Ahead?"

In his first lecture Carsten covered the period of Johnson Reaction following the Second American Revolution from the years 1865 to 1867. He clearly showed that although a war had ostensibly been fought to free the slaves, freedom for the Negro existed in word only. The next lecture, the Northern Dictatorship, will cover the period from 1867 to 1875.

Wright's lecture brought out the world character of capitalist trade cycles. Tracing the economic cycles under capitalism since early 1800, Wright showed why depressions during the deay of capitalism tended to become longer and deeper. His next lecture will cover conditions in this country since V-J Day.

Both courses will continue for the next three Mondays. It is not too late to register. Each of the remaining lectures covers a complete topic. Carsten's course begins at 7:30; Wright's at 9:00. Tuition fee is 30c.

Come and meet other 'Militant' Readers at these Local Activities of

THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

AKRON—2nd floor, 4 S. Howard St. Open Mon. through Friday, 3 to 5 p.m.; Saturdays 2 to 4 p.m.

BOSTON—30 Stuart St. Open Saturdays 1 p.m. to 5 p.m.; Tuesdays 7:30 to 9:30 p.m.

BUFFALO — **Militant** Forum, 629 Main St., 2nd floor. Phone MAdison 3960. Open every afternoon except Sunday.

CHICAGO—777 W. Adams (corner Halsted). Open 11 a.m. to 5 p.m. daily, except Sunday. Phone Dearborn 4767. Library, bookstore.

CLEVELAND — **Militant** Forum every Sunday, 8:30 p.m. at Peck's Hall, 1446 E. 82nd St.. (off Wade Park Ave.).

DETROIT — 6108 Linwood Ave., phone TY. 7-6267. Open Monday through Saturday, 12 to 5 p.m. Current events forum and open house, Saturday from 8 p.m.

FLINT—215 E. Ninth St., Flint 3, Mich. Open every night 7-9 p.m., Saturday nights Open House, Sunday nights Meetings and Forums.

LOS ANGELES—**Militant** publishing Assn., 316½ W. Pico Blvd. Open daily, 12 noon to 5 p.m. Phone Richmond 4644.

SAN PEDRO — **Militant** publishing Assn.,—1008 S. Pacific, Room 214.

LYNN, Mass. — 44 Central Square, Room 11. Discussion every Tuesday 7:30 p.m.; open Saturdays 1-5 p.m.

MILWAUKEE—**Militant** Bookshop, 608 S. 5 St. Open evenings Monday through Friday, 7:30 p.m. to 9:30 p.m.

MINNEAPOLIS—10 South 4th St., open 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. daily except Sunday, Phone Main 7781 Library, bookstore.
Sunday Forums, 3:30 p.m.

NEW HAVEN—**Labor School,** 855 Grand Ave., 3rd floor. Open every Monday, 8 to 10:30 p.m.

NEWARK — 423 Springfield Ave. Phone BIgelow 3-2574. Library and reading room open week nights, 7-10 p.m.
Friday night forum, 8:30.

NEW YORK CITY HQ., 116 University Place, GR. 5-8149.
HARLEM: 103 W. 110 St. Room 23. MO. 2-1866.
Every Thursday Open Discussion, 8 p.m.
BRONX: 1034 Prospect Ave., 1st floor, phone TI 2-0101.
BROOKLYN: 635 Fulton St., Phone ST. 3-7433.
CHELSEA: 130 W. 23 St., phone CH 2-9434.

OAKLAND, Cal.—For information write to P.O. Box 1351, Oaklanr, 4

PHILADELPHIA — 1302-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd floor, Open daily. Friday forum, 8 p.m. Phone Stevenson 4-5820.

PITTSBURGH—1418 Fifth Ave., 2nd floor.
Open meetings every 1st and third Sundays at 3:30 p.m.
Marxist Study Class every Thursday 7-9 p.m. 1418 Fifth Ave.

SAN DIEGO—Headquarters 432 F St., R. 213. Open Tuesday, Thursday & Saturday, 1 to 5 p.m.; Monday, Wednesday & Friday, 7 to 9 p.m.

SAN FRANCISCO — 1739 Fillmore St., 4th floor, San Francisco 15. Open noon to 4:30 p.m. except Sunday. Phone FI 6-0410.

SEATTLE—1919½ Second Ave. Open 10:30 a.m. to 2:30 p.m. Mon. through Fri., 12 to 5 p.m. Sat.
Phone SE 0453 Library, bookstore.
Wednesdays, 8 p.m. Basic Training Class.

ST. LOUIS—1023 N. Grand Blvd., Room 312. Forums, Fridays, 7:30—10 p. m. Phone Jefferson 3642.

ST. PAUL—540 Cedar St., St. Paul 2. Phone Garfield 1137. Open daily 2:30-9:30 p.m.

TACOMA, Wash. — Meetings every Wednesday, 8 p.m., at Odd Fellows Hall, 6th and Fawcett. Discussions on current topics. For information, write P.O. Box 1079.

TOLEDO — 113 St. Clair St., 2nd floor. Open daily.

YOUNGSTOWN — 115 E. Federal Bldg., Room 302, Youngstown 3, O. Open 11-4:30 Monday through Saturday. Phone 3-1355.

The Militant will be 19 years old November 15

Send An Anniversary Gift

Insert a Coin or Pin a Bill — Mail Today!

Folded Bill

The Militant,
116 University Pl.,
New York 3, N. Y.

50c

Dear Friends:

25c

Enclosed find $ ..... to help continue your fight for a better world.

10c

Your friend,

.....

BRONX
Sunday Forum
"Aim of the Marshall Plan"
Speaker:
GEORGE CLARKE
New York SWP Organizer
Sunday, Nov. 30, 3:00 p. m.
Buffet Supper
1034 Prospect Ave.

DETROIT
Which Way for the Auto Union?
An Analysis of the UAW Convention
Speaker:
HOWARD LERNER
Chairman: Detroit SWP
Sunday, Dec. 7, 3 P.M.
6108 Linwood Ave.

THE MILITANT

PAGE SIX — NEW YORK, N. Y. — MONDAY, NOVEMBER 24, 1947.

Diary of a Steel Worker

A Kid Named Frankie

By Theodore Kovalesky

You probably know a kid like Frankie. Maybe your own boy is like him. There are a lot like him in America.

Frankie is crazy about cars. He's wild about them; his whole life moves around them. To Frankie the greatest man in the history of the country (and probably the world as well) was Henry Ford. He doesn't know anything about labor history and the long, hard struggle for organization, he doesn't know how Ford fought the union and his workers. All he knows is that Ford made the Model T and the Model A . . . and that, in Frankie's eyes, put the mantle of fame around the flivver king's shoulders for all time.

Here in the plant Frankie works in the repair gang, but that's just drudgery, stupid labor that calls for nothing more than a strong back and a weak mind, just something that will earn a paycheck every Friday until That Day comes.

That Day is something in the future, something that's good and fine with the mellow smell of grease and the beautiful sight and feel of precision parts, the music of motors quietly ticking over in perfect timing. That Day doesn't have to be bright and clean; no, it can be dim as the inside of a garage and dirty as the inside of an old crankcase. But what surgeon faints at the sight of blood? And where is the sculptor who cringes from the smear of clay, the painter who fears the stain of his pigments?

When That Day comes, Frankie won't be just another guy helping out around the blast furnaces, tugging at the handle of the "old man" when they drill a steel plate, hooking up the oxygen and acetyline for the burners, carrying wrenches and bolts and God knows what up the endless, narrow steel stairs to the top of a rusty, quivering, belching blast furnace. On That Day Frankie will be king of his own little kingdom, a great specialist with his own clinic. It won't have to be big, just enough space for a car or two, a chain fall, and some equipment. But people for miles around will say reverently, "If you ever need any work done on your car, just take it to Frankie Bozak's place. That guy can make a motor talk!"

Frankie doesn't go to union meetings, and he thinks some of us are crazy for knocking ourselves out to build the union. Even if he were very interested in the local, he's much too busy hanging around Carl Morelli's garage or the gas station two blocks away. When Carl lets him take the head off a motor or dismantle a carburetor, he's the happiest kid in the whole town: it's a little preview of That Day, when he'll have a place like Carl's (only better) and will listen wisely to a motor, spit tobacco juice on the ground, and then, in the slow, well-chosen words of a man whose words are heard with eagerness and respect, diagnose the most obscure ailments that a car might suffer.

I've known Frankie for a while now, and I've thought a lot about him. There are a lot of kids like Frankie in the country. But what's ahead for them?

Frankie never thinks about Socialism. He's never seen the word in a motor parts manual, so he probably doesn't know it exists. But whether he knows or cares about Socialism or Capitalism, they're going to affect him. Under Capitalism, That Day that he dreams about probably won't come. And even if it does, it's not going to be as wonderful as he thinks. Most likely he'll keep working in the steel plant and tinkering with cars on the side, or else he'll get a job in some garage and find that even a mechanic's life has its problems of making both ends meet, of scrimping to raise a family, and of being laid off in bad times.

But I don't think Frankie will even get that far. The war-lords of capitalism are beating their drums, and I think they have a place all picked out for Frankie in their army, maybe even a little plot of soil for him with a white wooden cross over it.

There are all kinds of kids, with all kinds of ideas. Franklie is one of them. But what holds true for him holds true for all of them. His hopes and dreams have little possibility of realization under capitalism. It will take a different society to give him and all the other millions of kids, Negro and white, Jew or Gentile, European, Asiatic, or American, the chance they deserve. Although most of them probably don't know it, That Day will be . . . Socialism.

The Negro Struggle

How to Use the Truman Report

By Albert Parker

A shrewd observation about one aspect of the Truman Committee on Civil Rights report has been made by P. L. Prattis, executive editor of the **Pittsburgh Courier** in the Nov. 15 issue of that paper. He correctly notes that many Negro leaders in both the North and South would not have gone so far in their recommendations as the Truman Committee went.

That doesn't mean that the Truman Committee recommendations were radical or even that they said everything that should be said on the subject of Negro rights. All it means is that there are still far too many Negroes accepted as leaders whose only qualifications are their ability to follow in the footsteps of Uncle Tom.

Especially is this true in connection with the issue of segregation. Every Negro who poses as a leader knows enough to denounce discrimination; if they didn't do that, they wouldn't get or keep any following at all. Even many Southern Democrats deplore discrimination on certain occasions.

But a great many self-styled Negro leaders, while willing to complain about discrimination, continue to dodge the question of segregation — as though it was possible to separate the two. Many of them not only dodge or clam up on this vital issue, but they even knuckle under to the Jim Crow myth about "separate but equal" facilities and urge the Negro people to accept and be satisfied with schools, hospitals, transportation, etc., which are separate and therefore inferior 99 times out of 100.

Well, one of the by-products of the Truman Committee report is that such characters are now put on the spot. From now on it will be comparatively easy to make them squirm every time they try to sell the Negro masses a bill of goods about the need to be "realistic" about accepting the segregated set-up that Jim Crow has reserved for the Negro. "What!" they must be asked; "you tell us to be satistfied with segregation when even Truman's committee admits the injustice and the evil effects of segregation? What kind of leadership is that? What are you anyhow — —a disciple of Rankin?" The results of such an approach should be educational as well as entertaining.

Of course, it is necessary to do more than make would-be Negro leaders speak out firmly against segregation; it is also necessary to make them fight against it vigorously and consistently. It doesn't say that in the Truman Committee report, but it's true just the same. And the only way to make the Negro leaders fulfill their responsibilities or get out of the way and let others do it is through mass pressure.

The same goes for Truman and the other capitalist politicians in Washington. Reports, speeches and promises are all very well in their place. But what counts is action. And the way to get favorable action from these politicians is not only to embarrass them by reminding them of these reports and promises but also to frighten them with the prospect of what will happen if they don't act. And that too requires mass pressure applied on all fronts — economic, social and political.

UAW Convention Sidelights

By Art Preis

ATLANTIC CITY, Nov. 15 — Here are some interesting facts and incidents at the CIO United Auto Workers convention, which ended here yesterday that did not receive notice in the capitalist daily press.

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No exact figure on the number of delegates was reported by the Credentials Committee. Its only estimate was "about 1700." Predictions had been for more than 2000, as in past recent conventions.

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Saddest sight in the convention hall was a little band of eager-beavers of Shachtman's Workers Party, whose views are expressed in **Labor Action.** They were up in the gallery screaming their heads off for Reuther, while the Reuther machine put over compliance with the Taft-Hartley "yellow dog" oath. Reuther and his ACTU allies repaid the Shachtmanites for their small but earnest services as shoeshiners and finger-men by excluding them from the Reutherite slates for local delegates. In the Reutherite-ACTU camp, the Shachtmanites are known as "Reutherettes."

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Maybe Philip Murray didn't know, but the loud laughter that interrupted his speech at one point came from militant delegates of the Thomas-Addes-Leonard caucus. They read their own meaning into Murray's statement: "And you do not need, nor do your wives need any bright, young economist to tell them what happens to your pocketbook and her pocketbook." This fitted Walter Reuther perfectly — long on statistics about prices and profits, but short on program on what to do about it.

There was a far lower percentage of Negro delegates than in former conventions. This reflected the growing conservative mood in the UAW. Most of the Negro delegates voted for R. J. Thomas against Richard Gosser, Reuther's candidate for vice president and notoriously Jim Crow.

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Reuther, who prides himself on his efficiency, kept a chart to guide him in granting the floor to delegates from different parts of the hall. He claimed it was to keep track of delegates who had spoken. It was also useful, we can be sure, in helping him select members of his floor machine who were assigned to cut off debate by moving the previous question.

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A special edition of **The Searchlight,** official publication of Flint Chevrolet Local 659, was distributed at the convention and made a strong impression. Its double-banner front-page headline read: "BALLOTS OR BUST! BUILD A LABOR PARTY." The entire issue was devoted to explaining why labor needs it own party. The back-page headlines read: "WHEN IS THE TIME TO BUILD LABOR PARTY—IF NOT NOW? Shall We Wait Until Labor Is Beaten?" A number of original cartoons livened the issue.

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The Big Business press correspondents were open partisans of Reuther. They all signed a letter to Reuther commending his press agent for "the best job of helping the press" in any union convention. Reuther owes them a return letter of thanks for "the best job of helping an aspiring union official" at any convention.

Notes from the News

POSTPONED? — O. John Rogge, former Assistant Attorney-General, who revealed Department of Justice plans for large scale midnight raids of "reds," says his disclosures may have upset the time-table. He predicts the "red menace" roundup will play a big role in Truman's campaign for re-election.

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CENSORED — The death cell scene in **Monsieur Verdoux,** showing Charlie Chaplin rejecting the ministrations of the priest, has been cut out in many theatres.

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AGAINST FEE GOUGE — The CIO United Transport Service Employes are fighting the railroad's attempt to raise red caps' fees from 10 to 15c because it would mean less tips.

GOT HITLER MEDAL — Drew Pearson says Thomas J. Watson, head of International Business Machines and supporter of the Eisenhower presidential campaign, "is the same Watson who received a medal from Adolph Hitler, but who did not take the trouble to return it until France fell."

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SOUTHERN JUSTICE — Isaac Woodard, Negro veteran blinded by South Carolina cops after being removed from a bus last year, has lost his $50,000 damage suit against the bus company, Atlantic Greyhound Corp.

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FIGHTS RESTRICTIVE COVENANTS — The CIO has condemned restrictive covenants in housing and renting as "racist" before the U. S. Supreme Court. It calls on the U. S. Supreme Court to hold such covenants illegal.

Brass Hat Corruption Is Bared In Senate Probe of Gen. Meyers

By George Lavan

The investigation of Major General Bennett E. Meyers has lifted the lid a little, allowing the public another glimpse at the Big Business and Brass Hat corruption of wartime Washington.

According to the testimony, Meyers, Chief of Staff of the Air Forces Material Command, secretly owned a company for which he got war contracts; he solicited "loans" from airplane magnates on whose army contracts he passed; he held stock in other companies that got contracts from his department; he speculated on $4,000,000 of government bonds. This appears to be only the beginning of the revelations on Meyer's wartime "service."

Even more scandalous is the fact that his superior officers and the FBI were informed during the war about Meyers' stock holdings and no action was taken. Not only did the Army cover up Meyers' violation of army regulations and federal law but it awarded him the Distinguished Service Medal and the Legion of Merit. Then he was allowed to retire on a comfortable pension.

The outstanding feature of the investigation to date is that all parties to it — the business men, the army officers and the investigating committee itself — have been tarred with the brush of profiteering and corruption.

HUGHES REVELATIONS

First revelation was that millionaire plane manufacturer and movie producer Howard Hughes, in the process of getting 40 million dollars of government contracts had spent at least $164,000 to "entertain" Army officers and politicians.

Then Hughes, to take the heat off himself, stated that Senator Brewster, head of the Senate investigating committee, had offered to trade off the investigation. He would lay off Hughes if certain concessions were made to Pan-American Air Lines. Brewster has yet to give a satisfactory refutation to Hughes' charge.

By a suspicious coincidence the investigation of the Hughes contracts and the Senator Brewster-Pan-Am charges has apparently been dropped and the investigation has now centered instead on General Meyers.

Hughes started by talking freely about his dealings with Meyers while his contract was being negotiated. Meyers had discussed possible postwar jobs with Hughes' company. In this connection it is interesting to note that Meyers' wartime superior, Lieut.-Gen. Ira C. Eaker, former Deputy Commander of the Air Forces, is a highly-paid executive in Hughes' plane company. Meyers had also approached Hughes for "loans."

It also transpired that this much-decorated brass hat owned considerable amounts of stock in aviation companies with which he had transacted government business. Since Meyers passed on contracts he knew just what and when to buy.

This stock holding was a minor slip on Meyers' part. The customary device for top brass with stock holdings was to "transfer" this stock to their wives. It was then perfectly honorable for an officer to grant or deny contracts to companies because he no longer had any "direct" interest in them. This was the official "out." **Meyers, who was in the process of acquiring a new wife, did not make the "transfer" until several months later.**

That Meyers held stock in companies with which he transacted government business was known to the FBI and the Army. An anonymous letter from an air force officer in 1945 asserted that Meyers was making "immense profits" on his illegal holdings. This information was buried in the files on the responsibility of Air Force Chief, Gen. Carl E. Spaatz and his deputy Gen. Ira C. Eaker. Meyers stated in self-defense that he held part of this stock for Eaker.

Not only was this information of Meyers' violation of Federal Laws and Army regulations buried by the top brass, but it was kept from the Senate investigating committee after it had requested all data concerning Meyers. **What guarantee is there that the top brass of the Army, which tried to cover up for Meyers till the last minute, isn't still withholding other information on him?**

Workers and veterans who were exhorted to buy war bonds during the recent imperialist slaughter must have been bitterly surprised to learn that fortunes were made by insiders speculating on government bonds. Meyers bought $4,000,000 worth of government bonds on margin. Like many others "in the know" he was thus able to double his original "investment." This is the first direct knowledge the public has received about this speculation which was very widespread. The official "Buy Bonds" campaigns meant that the price of government bonds kept rising and speculators couldn't lose.

The crassest piece of business transacted by that distinguished "officer and gentleman," Major-General Meyers, was the creation of the Aviation Electric Company of Dayton, Ohio. This company set up by Meyers through an outlay of $500 was then nursed along with a few loans and received lush war contracts. One contract given it by Bell Aircraft upon Meyers' suggestion, was over a million dollars.

The officers of this company were figureheads. All profits went to the General, who lived in luxury. Enlisted men drove him around in the limousine he had bought with money stolen from the taxpayers. Meanwhile he enjoyed all the privileges accorded a general, including the obeisance and respect of enlisted soldiers required by "military courtesy."

Every enlisted man will recall the Army's policy of severe court martials for minor offenses and contrast it with the flagrant grafting of this general and the top brass conspiracy to cover up for him.

A group of disabled vets from a Washington Army hospital were in the audience when the corruption of this two-star general was being aired. One can well imagine the emotions of these men as they contrasted what they got from their war service with what Meyers got. On the one hand wounds, years of suffering, the loss of a normal physical life. On the other — luxury, privilege, plunder.

General Meyers is only small fry. It appears not unlikely that he is being offered up as a scapegoat to divert attention from the really big criminals. To have the whole stinking scandal of wartime corruption exposed the public should demand a complete investigation of all Army and Navy brass who dealt in procurement and of all corporations and individuals who received government contracts. Such an investigation should begin with the real big boys, like U. S. Steel and General Motors, and go right on down the line to take in all the little crooks like Meyers.

Cost-of-Living Bonus Sought by UAW Militants

ATLANTIC CITY, Nov. 15 —Demands for new wage raises and cost-of-living bonuses to meet rising prices were among the key sections of the militant resolution on wage policy introduced at the UAW Convention by the Thomas-Addes-Leonard caucus and adopted by the majority of the Resclutions Committee. The Reutherite majority at the convention prevented it from being discussed on the floor, and referred the whole wage question to the new International Executive Board. Reprinted below are the major sections of this resolution:

RESOLVED: That this 11th Convention declare that the UAW-CIO must immediately embark on a new drive for wage increases in which effective action will center around wage-reopening dates in contracts, and be it further

RESOLVED: The wage demand must be concretely formulated so that it will be based on the rise in the cost of living, the cuts in our relative real wage, and the Heller Committee Standard of health and decency, and so that the figure set shall be the final and conclusive demand of the UAW-CIO, and be it further

RESOLVED: A provision shall be included providing for cost of living bonuses during the life of the wage clauses with the negotiated rates as the base minimums, and be it further

RESOLVED: That the support and united effort of other unions must be won, including in the first place CIO's Steel, UE, Rubber, and be it further

RESOLVED: That the UAW-CIO's big three, the Ford, Chrysler and GM departments must move unitedly in the fight to win wage increases, and be it further

RESOLVED: That our incoming Executive Board demand of the Auto Manufacturers that they meet jointly with the Union and negotiate a joint wage program for the industry, and be it further

RESOLVED: That the UAW-CIO undertake an extensive public relations program which will show the necessity for wage increases, which will destroy in the public mind the false theory that wage increases shall come out of increased productivity, which shall combat the equally false theory that higher wages lead to higher prices, and which shall demonstrate that wage increases must come out of mounting profits, and be it further

RESOLVED: That major concurrent objectives with the fight for wage increases shall be the elimination of piece work where it still exists and the establishment of a guaranteed week's pay.

Strike Vote by 3 Railroad Unions

A national strike vote is being taken by three operating unions of railroad workers. These unions—the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen and the Switchmen's Union—have already distributed strike ballots to 150,00 members.

The union's demands are 30% pay increase and 44 changes in the working rules. Negotiations with the railroad companies have been going on since Oct. 7.

Two other operating unions—the brotherhood of Railway Trainmen and the Order of Railway Conductors—accepted 15½ cents an hour increases and four changes in working rules Nov. 14. These unions originally were united on the program of demanding 30% wage increases. This means that their original demand of a minimum increase of $3 a day has been whittled down to less than half that figure.

The unions taking the strike vote refused to accept the 15½ cents, sticking to the original demand of 30% and 44 rule changes.

Non-operating unions, representing about 1,000,000 workers, obtained the 15½ cents increase from an arbitration decision last September.

Steel Workers in Business

The McKeesport, Pa., union hall of the CIO United Steelworkers has been converted into a part-time grocery store to help members keep their living costs down. Run on a non-profit basis, the cooperative arrangement helps a little but doesn't solve the real price problem. Federated Pictures

Hickman Trial Ends Without Jury Verdict

(Continued from Page 1)

in this tragedy were Hickman and his family.

The entire case of the prosecution was then presented in two hours. The evidence of the prosecution proved nothing that the defense did not readily admit, namely, that Hickman was the man who shot Coleman. The witnesses attempted to refute Hickman's statement that Coleman had confessed to causing the fire, but were compelled under the cross-examination of defense counsel Temple to admit they were in no position to hear what was said in the conversation between Hickman and Coleman.

The defense opened its case with Mrs. Julia Rogers and Mr. Will Jackson, both tenants in the building at the time of the fire. **They both testified that they had heard Coleman threaten to burn the tenants out.**

Willis Hickman, 19 year old son, then testified to having seen Coleman in the building the night before the fire. He also told of his father's anguish, of his failure to eat and sleep normally after the tragic fire.

MRS. HICKMAN ON STAND

Mrs. Hickman, slight, soft spoken and still suffering from the terrible tragedy, took the stand next. With tears in her eyes, she told the jury of the terrible fire that took the lives of her four youngest children last January. She recalled the day their first child was born in Mississippi, when her husband, a deeply religious man had said that "a voice from above" had charged him with "protecting and keeping his family together." He made a vow at that time to fulfill this obligation. She said that he had frequently repeated this vow.

He told her after the shooting that he had felt compelled to do it, driven by a power greater than himself, and that after the shooting he felt that a great weight had been lifted from him.

James Hickman took the stand on Thursday morning, and testified all day and for an hour on Friday morning. In a slow sad voice he told the story of his life. Born in Mississippi, he went to work in the cotton fields at the age of 14; he married at the age of 16. He told of the backbreaking toil raising cotton as a sharecropper, and finding at the end of the year that the landowner had taken the major share of the income from his crop, leaving almost nothing for the family.

MILLIONS CONDEMNED

He told of coming to Chicago and finding a job in the steel mills. Then came the long futile search for a home for his family. His testimony was an indictment of social conditions in America which condemn millions to despair resulting from inadequate housing. His story was the story of countless workers throughout the country, and the entire courtroom listened in dead silence as Hickman told his tragic story.

He told of his belief that he had a "contract with God" to keep his family together come what may, and to watch over them and protect them. Prostrated with grief after learning the fate of his four children, he heard a "voice" demanding that he fulfill his "contract."

He told how he fought this feeling of compulsion to kill Coleman, but could not resist it. On July 16 he took his gun and loaded it, put it back and left the house; came back; left again, and finally returned for the last time to take the gun and go to Coleman's house. He found Coleman sitting in his car, and spoke to him. Coleman swore at him. He told how he shot Coleman twice, how Coleman confessed to deliberately having set the fire. Hickman answered "It's too late, Coleman," and shot him twice more.

He related that he was not inflamed with hate, but calm, obeying a power he could not resist. He said, "I wasn't mad . . . and I wasn't glad." He told of walking away slowly with the gun in his hand, of returning home to await the police und then going with them willingly.

USED EVERY TRICK

The state's attorney, glib and merciless, used every trick in the bag to trip up Hickman, to confuse him, to trap him into contradictions but to no avail. Hickman was telling the truth, and everyone in the courtroom knew it.

Three witnesses, who were acquainted with Hickman, including his pastor, then testified to his good character and reputation. Then came the testimony of the two psychiatrists, Dr. Walter Adams and Dr. Boris Ury, both prominent and respected men in the field. They testified that after a thorough examination of Hickman, they were certain that Hickman was acting under an irresistible impulse and unable to control his actions at the time of the shooting. The state's attorney offered no psychiatrists to contradict this opinion, but attempted instead to ridicule pyschiatry.

In forceful and stirring summaries, attorneys Temple and Despres reviewed the evidence, showed that it had not been refuted or even seriously challenged by the state. They pointed to the housing difficulties and the restrictive covenants as the causes for this tragedy, and pleaded with the jury to find Hickman not guilty.

The prosecutor repeated his performance of ridiculing psychiatry, saying "these men don't know any more about what goes on in a man's mind than my two year old granddaughter." Making many references about "upholding our constitution, our way of life, our civilization," etc., he attempted to whip up the passions of the jury by referring to Hickman as a coldblooded and remorseless killer.

Reports of the deliberation in the jury room indicate that there were heated arguments and that the jury was evenly divided in the voting.

CONGRESS GEARED FOR DRIVE ON BUILDING TRADES UNIONS

By Raymond Rice

NEW YORK, Nov. 17—The various Congressional subcommittees investigating the building trades unions ended their public hearings last week and returned to Washington to set in motion the machinery to produce more anti-union legislation.

Public hearings were held all over the country from New Orleans to Chicago; and from San Francisco to New York. The announced aim was an investigation of the nigh cost of new housing construction. But the real aim was to set off a carefully organized propaganda campaign to place the blame for the terrible housing shortage on the building trades unions.

Anti-union witnesses were brought forward to make all sorts of false and misleading statements. Union leaders were not given adequate opportunity to refute the charges of corporation lawyers, sweat shop builders, **Wall Street Journal** editors, building materials profiteers and other members of the anti-labor chorus.

These gentlemen fed the press material charging that union workers were loafers and profiteers, and were responsible for the limited opportunity of veterans and others to get into the construction trades. They demanded technical changes that would break down the health, wage and work standards of the building trades workers.

The Department of Justice filed a complaint in August, 1946, charging a conspiracy that prevented new construction of housing and commercial buildings in which almost every large bank and insurance company were participants. Nothing has been done to stop this conspiracy.